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THE LIFE

OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE CONSORT

VOL. II.

Her Majesty The Queen

With H.R.H. The Princess Victoria

Engraved by F. Holl from a Miniature by R. Thorburn painted in 1841

and given by The Queen to The Prince Consort now in Her Majesty's possession

London Published by Smith Elder & Co 15 Waterloo Place

THE LIFE

OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE CONSORT

BY

THEODORE MARTIN

WITH PORTRAITS

VOLUME THE SECOND

LONDON
SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 WATERLOO PLACE
1876

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TO

THE QUEEN'S

MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MADAM,

I have now the honour to place in Your Majesty's hands the second portion of the narrative of the Life of his Royal Highness the Prince Consort. In another volume I hope to complete the work.

In writing the Life of the Prince, I have felt that I must write what would be in some measure a history of the time. The duties of his position, as the Prince understood them, made it incumbent upon him to be ever on the watch where the welfare of Your Majesty's kingdom was concerned. The interests of England, abroad as well as at home, were not more dear to Your Majesty than they were to him. To help, so far as in him lay, to uphold these interests, and to keep England true to her great name, and worthy of her great inheritance, was with the Prince, as with Your Majesty, the dearest object of his ambition. Seeking no personal triumph, he was content, and more than content, with strengthening the hands, while lightening the labours, of the Sovereign in whose life his own was merged. But this could only be done by taking an active part in her peculiar toils, and by devoting, like her, his best energies to that day-by-day

observation of every social and political movement, which he conceived to be the function of the Head of a State, and in an especial degree of the Constitutional Monarch, whose study is, in the words of our Liturgy, 'to preserve her people in wealth, peace, and godliness.'

The events which make history were thus the atmosphere in which the Prince lived. It was upon them his mind was most constantly at work, it was with them that his correspondence chiefly dealt. His story, therefore, could not be told without at the same time telling the story of these events. To show how they acted upon his mind, and how in turn his influence re-acted upon them, has been my aim. This could not be done without at the same time affording glimpses of what each day brings to Your Majesty in the way of active supervision of the business of the State. In going through the voluminous records of State and other papers compiled by the Prince for the use of Your Majesty and himself, which it has been my duty and privilege to examine in the execution of my task, nothing has impressed or touched me more, than the indications on which I everywhere came, of how the minds and hands of Your Majesty and the Prince had worked together upon the multiform and difficult questions which were constantly presenting themselves for consideration.

Only a faint idea can be given in any work like the present of the weighty character and the wide range of the topics, which engaged the thoughts of Your Majesty and the Prince during the eventful years of which this volume treats. Still, it cannot but be well, that Your Majesty's subjects should learn something of the noble activity which then reigned within the Palace;—how not a day, scarcely an hour passed, which did not leave its record of some good work done, some sagacious counsel tendered, some worthy enterprise encouraged, some measure to make men wiser or better devised or helped

forward, some problem of grave social or political moment meditated to its depths, and advanced towards a solution. They have long looked with pride to the home of their Sovereign as a pattern of what a home and a Court should be, in the warmth of the family affection, the refined simplicity of the tastes, the purity of the moral atmosphere, by which it was pervaded. They will be no less pleased to learn, as from the present volume they will, that while all the graces of life were cultivated there, and all 'the charities that soothe, and heal, and bless' diligently fostered, that home was also the seat of hard, anxious, unremitting work, which had for its one object the protection and promotion of the country's welfare. Thus, too, they will better understand, what such work imposes upon Your Majesty, when it is no longer shared with him, whose ever-wakeful tenderness, no less than his calm, courageous intellect, took from the cares of Royalty more than half their burden.

I have the honour to be,

MADAM,

Your Majesty's most devoted

Subject and Servant,

THEODORE MARTIN.

BRYNTYSILIO: *16th September*, 1876.

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THE LIFE

OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE CONSORT.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The policy of Louis Philippe had, as we have seen, for some time inspired the Prince and his Coburg friend with doubts of the stability of his power. The latter had written on the 1st of August, 1847: 'Louis Philippe's ambiguous reputation as a master of the arts of statesmanship has been most unequivocally ruined by the Spanish intrigue. If he live long enough, he can hardly fail to suffer some portion of the punishment, which, according to the laws of nature, he has incurred.'

It was the creed of both Stockmar and his pupil, that as surely as sorrow is ever found, in the words of our old poet, 'dogging sin,' so surely will retribution overtake the Sovereign, who thinks more of the immediate interests of his family or dynasty than of the well-being and advancement of his people. From what side this might come in the case of Louis Philippe it was impossible to foresee. But it was an ominous symptom, that for some time the policy of France at home and abroad had become personally identified with the King; while at the same time, the Government, blind to the fact that the Opposition, although in a

numerical minority, really echoed the voice of the nation in calling for reform, had dealt with it as though they were a faction whose real aim was not reform but revolution, and who were to be silenced, not by the removal of unquestionable abuses, but, if necessary, by force. A state of things more dangerous to the dynasty could not well be conceived. Lulled into a false security by the facility with which he had for many years been able to impress his own views and wishes upon his Ministers, Louis Philippe had forgotten, that, as it is they who in all Constitutional Governments are primarily responsible to the people, their freedom of action must not be overborne by the dictates of the Sovereign, and that if, forgetful of their own prerogatives, they suffer themselves to become his subservient agents, they do so at the hazard of dragging him down with their own fall.

To such a result things were indeed surmised by some close observers to be rapidly tending; and the recurrence of Louis Philippe to a Bourbon policy seemed the more unaccountable as well as dangerous, that throughout all the countries in Europe, where Absolutism had hitherto prevailed, the cry for free Constitutions had arisen. But to none had it occurred, that the downfall of the Orleans dynasty was so close at hand. It had cut itself off from the sympathies of England, and it was known to be pursuing a line of policy both in Switzerland and in Italy which might readily lead to an European war. Old jealousies had revived; rightly or wrongly,[1] England had come to look at France with suspicion,

[1] Rightly as it proved; and but for the Revolution of 1848, Great Britain, we now know, would have found France arrayed against her in an alliance with Russia, Prussia, and Austria. These Powers had become so seriously alarmed at the encouragement given by England to the Constitutional movement in Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, and Italy, that they considered it necessary to unite in measures for the common defence. They then entered into communications with the French Government, and had actually settled terms with them, when the whole scheme was blown into the air by the events of

and the question of national defences, too long neglected, had by the beginning of 1848 taken hold of the public mind.

This had been forcibly called to it by the publication, early in January, 1848, of the Duke of Wellington's letter, written in the previous January, to Sir John Burgoyne, which contained the startling announcement, that after reconnoitring 'over and over again the whole coast from the North Foreland, by Dover, Folkestone, Beachey Head, Brighton, Arundel, to Selsey Bill near Portsmouth,' the Duke had found, 'excepting immediately under the fire of Dover Castle, there is not a spot on the coast on which infantry might not be thrown on shore at any turn of the tide, with any wind and in any weather, and from which such body of infantry, so thrown on shore, would not find within the distance of five miles a road into the interior of the country through the cliffs, practicable for the march of troops.' Such an announcement upon such authority no Englishman could read with indifference. The consequences of a successful descent upon our shores were summed up in one sentence. 'When,' added the Duke, 'did any man hear of allies of a country unable to defend itself?' The Duke's letter had not been intended for the public eye. But its publication was well timed. The condition of Europe was such that it behoved us to look well to our own security, and to the state of our

February and March, 1848. That some combination of the kind was on foot, our political agents abroad had surmised; but the fact was subsequently put beyond a doubt by the revelations of Count d'Haussonville, in his work published in 1850: 'Désespérant,' he writes, 'de pouvoir jamais s'entendre avec un gouvernement qui s'était fait à Madrid le patron des cabales Espagnoles, qui à Rome, à Naples, et en Sicile favorisait la destruction des institutions, et la levée des boucliers en Grèce, qui était devenu un agent incessant de trouble et de désordre, qui avait livré les Conservateurs de Fribourg et de Lucerne à la colère des Radicaux Suisses, *les grandes puissances de l'Europe venaient témoigner à la France le désir de se concerter avec elle à l'exclusion de l'Angleterre. Notre Cabinet avait accepté leurs ouvertures; un jour était pris* (*le* 15 *Mars*) *pour donner aux arrangements déjà débattus une forme arrêtée et précise.*' —D'Haussonville: *Histoire de la Politique, &c.* ii. 381.

alliances; and no voice could have been raised in warning which could command greater respect; for no man had better reason than the Great Duke to know, that England could only maintain her supremacy in the civilised world so long as she remained 'inviolate,'—and this not from invasion only, but also from the no less grievous disaster of internal convulsion.

Impressed with these views, Lord John Russell, in introducing the Budget on the 18th of February, which he did in person, instead of leaving it to his Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed an increase of 358,000*l.* to the Military, Naval, and Ordnance Estimates, with a further sum of 150,000*l.* to lay the foundation of a Militia Force. He carefully guarded himself against the suggestion, that these Estimates were framed in anticipation of a rupture with any Foreign Power, least of all with the French nation, for a cordial, intimate, and lasting alliance with which he declared himself to be most anxious. There was no ground, he added, to infer that the lengthened peace which Europe had enjoyed was about to be broken; but the proposed outlay was deemed to be essential in order to put the Kingdom, with a view to the altered conditions of modern warfare, in a position of security.

Under any circumstances such a proposal was sure to be resisted by the economical and Peace parties, of whom Mr. Joseph Hume, Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Bright were then the prominent organs. But when the Prime Minister, in making it, had to couple it with the announcement of a deficit on the Budget of no less than 3,346,500*l.*, which he proposed to meet by renewing the Income Tax, then about to expire, for three years, and by raising it from sevenpence to one shilling in the pound for the next two years, even those who were most zealous for the national honour could not fail to be staggered. The country was suffering acutely from wide-spread stagnation

of trade, and from financial distress, and its difficulties had been augmented by the burden thrown upon its local resources through the continuous influx during the winter of 1847–8 of destitute and sickly poor from the sister island, in numbers computed to amount to not less than half a million.[2] It was natural, therefore, that it should hear of such a serious increase to its burdens with dismay. Petitions against the measure poured in from all sides, and an agitation so formidable sprang up, that ten days afterwards the Chancellor of the Exchequer came down to the House with an Amended Budget, announcing at the same time the abandonment of any increase of the Income Tax,[3] but asking for the renewal of the tax for three years.

Meanwhile the events which had occurred in Paris and elsewhere, by concentrating the attention of the public on the precarious condition of the Continent, and the possibility of turmoil at home, tended to calm the public excitement, and to make this modified proposal more acceptable than it might otherwise have been. The aspect of affairs was too serious to admit of recourse to the usual tactics of party strife; and a blunder in financial policy, which in other circumstances might have endangered the Ministry, if not forgotten, was at least condoned. To displace the Government in the presence of a great public danger would have been an act of suicidal folly. Whatever exception might be taken to the details of their policy, the first duty of all good citizens was to strengthen their hands for the

[2] The total number of poor relieved in the year ending July, 1848, throughout the United Kingdom, was 4,258,609, or about one-seventh of the entire population, and this at a cost of 8,352,798*l.*, exclusive of the 8,000,000*l.* raised by the Government and expended in relief in Ireland. These were figures which no statesman could contemplate without deep anxiety.

[3] In his annual review of the session, Mr. Disraeli, with the rough vigour which characterized these periodical Philippics, speaking of the Government proposal, said, 'In the country, a ménagerie before feeding-time could alone give an idea of the unearthly yell with which it was received.'

maintenance of the national honour, and the preservation of social order.

The opponents of the Government, who, in the language of Lord John Russell, speaking on the 25th of February, 'wished to see the prevalence of low establishments, low estimates, and low views,' found the ground cut from under them by the events of the last few days. The visions of enduring peace which had been sketched by them in the most glowing colours during the debate upon the Budget in its original shape had been rudely dispelled. 'Could any man foresee,' said the Chancellor of the Exchequer (28th February), 'what the state of the world would be two years or even six months hence? How long was it since a gentleman, recently returned from France, had told them that the French people could have no object in making a revolution? Who could have foreseen ten days ago, what had occurred in Paris during the last week?'

The temptation thus to turn the tables against Mr. Cobden, who was the gentleman here referred to, was, no doubt, irresistible; and the argument deduced from his prophetic failure was legitimate for the purposes of debate. Subsequent events, it is true, have shown that not only was he right in his assertion that the French people could have no object in making a revolution, but that the French nation did not, in fact, desire one. But with the fact of the revolution, and such a revolution, before them, people were not of a mind to accept as satisfactory Mr. Cobden's admission in his reply, that, when he had lately spoken against the probability of any but the most peaceful aspect of affairs in France, 'he was unprepared for the revolution which had occurred—for such insanity in a minister, or such madness in a monarch.'

And yet in this he was only speaking the prevailing thought of the most experienced political observers. It

seemed incredible that a Minister of the experience and sagacity of M. Guizot should have been so blind to the temper of men's minds around him as to have provoked a recourse to the same desperate remedy to which France had been driven by the Absolutism of a Polignac, unless he felt that he had within his hands the means of arresting it. Still less could it have been surmised that a King so reputed for wisdom, so versed in the theory of constitutional monarchy, should have allowed himself to be compromised by the obstinacy of his Minister, or that with a vast and loyal army at his back he should have consented to be driven from his throne without striking one blow, if not for his dynasty, at least in defence of that social order which it was his first duty to maintain. People were not then aware of what has since been made sufficiently clear, that the revolution was altogether a surprise, and to none more than to those who had taken the lead in the reform agitation, which was its ostensible cause—a surprise which a timely change of Ministry might have averted, and ordinary firmness in repressing the first indications of tumultuous violence would have rendered impossible.[4] The action of a reckless mob, bent on the gratification of selfish or vindictive passions, and instigated by leaders prompt to turn to profit the confusion into which both sovereign and subjects had been suddenly thrown, and who were ready at a moment's notice

[4] '*Que ferais-tu, Philippe,*' said Philip II. of Spain's jester to his master, '*si tous tes sujets s'avisaient dire* NON *toutes les fois que tu dis* OUI?' It was not with such a crisis that Louis Philippe had to deal; but with one of a much simpler kind. It is now known that his action was paralysed by his determination that no blood should be shed in defence of his dynasty, as he was not on the throne '*par son droit,*' but by the voice of the people, and that if they turned against him, he would not remain. But surely, when a nation places a monarch on the throne, they have a right to expect that he shall maintain himself there, unless they have declared, in unmistakeable terms, that they accept a revolution with its inevitable disasters in preference to retaining him. This was just what France had not declared, and the fact is remembered there to this hour with peculiar bitterness.

to tear down all existing institutions for the purpose of recasting them in moulds of their own devising, was mistaken for the movement of a nation, deliberately resolved to substitute for a monarchy, of which it was weary, that ideal republic of which it had long dreamed. As the confusion cleared away, this mistake became gradually more and more apparent. But in the meantime nothing was known but the fact that a government, which only a few days before had been defiant in its seeming strength, and a monarch fertile in resources, and confident in his knowledge of mankind, had succumbed without a struggle before the popular wrath, and that the destinies of France were for the moment in the hands of men wholly unpractised in the science of government, and some of whom, at least, were committed to doctrines destructive of society.

Astonishment mingled with alarm at a convulsion so sudden and so formidable, and fresh cause for both was furnished by the intelligence which poured in from all parts of the Continent. All the smouldering elements of discontent in Italy, in Austria, and in Germany, flamed up with irrepressible fury wherever the events of Paris became known.

Sicily, as we have seen, was already in full revolt; and Naples on the very verge of revolution.

The deeply-rooted impatience of Austrian rule in the North of Italy became irrepressible, and on the 1st of March the Lombards broke into insurrection at Milan. The Italian tricolour was hoisted on the Viceroy's palace and the Cathedral, and after several days of desperate fighting Marshal Radetzky found himself compelled by the vigour of the popular resistance, and by scarcity of provisions, to withdraw his forces and to fall back upon the fortresses of Mantua and Verona.

The King of Sardinia for some time resisted the appeals,

made to him by the leaders of the revolt at Milan, to cast in his lot with the cause of Italian unity, and to come to their assistance. Meanwhile he was beset on the one hand by apprehensions of danger to his own Crown, if he turned a deaf ear to the clamorous demands of his subjects to be led against the Austrians, and on the other by the dread of seeing the Lombards, with the assistance of France, set up a Republic at his own doors, if he did not at once strike in to their aid. Before him, too, was the splendid prize of the Iron Crown of Lombardy; and at his back, as he believed, a nation ready to hail him as the champion of their independence. But to invade the Austrian provinces was to be the first to violate the European settlement of the Treaty of Vienna, a step little likely to be viewed with favour by the other European Powers. No wonder, then, that weeks of hesitation elapsed before Charles Albert decided on placing himself at the head of the national party. All at once, however, on the 23rd of March, those who down to the previous day had been assured by the Piedmontese officials, both at Turin and at Vienna, that no aggressive movement was intended, were startled by a proclamation, in which he announced his determination to advance with his army into the Milanese territory, bearing 'the arms of Savoy above the Italian tricolour flag, for the purpose of more fully showing by external signs the sentiment of Italian unity.'

In the meantime Venice, following the example of Milan, had established a Provisional Government, and pledged itself by proclamation on the 26th of March to join with the Milanese in discussing the form of government most conducive to the common glory, 'when the hallowed soil of the country should have ceased to be sullied by the feet of the foreign oppressor.'

The same spirit spread throughout the Tuscan and Roman States. The Dukes of Parma and of Modena were driven

from their dominions, while the Grand Duke of Tuscany, yielding to the pressure of his subjects, joined in the national movement against Austria. The Pope, on the 14th of March, had granted a new constitution, coupling it with the announcement that, 'as his neighbours had decided that the people are already ripe for the benefits of a representative system of government, not merely consultative but deliberative, he was unwilling to think less worthily of his own subjects, or to repose less faith in their gratitude.' But it was in the streets, and not in the deliberative assembly thus promised, that his subjects preferred making their voices heard. There the cry was raised for a declaration of war against Austria. The Pope's Swiss troops had actually anticipated the demand by crossing the frontier, and a vehement protest by his Holiness that this step had been taken in defiance of his commands was followed by an outburst of popular fury at Rome, so serious that he found himself unable to bear up against it. The post office was seized by the mob, and letters fell into their hands which gave fresh bitterness to their already settled distrust in their rulers. In this state of things the Pope found he had no alternative but to yield to the popular will, and to declare war, which he did on the 1st of May, against a Power to which the Papal See had always looked as its natural and most powerful ally.

While Austria thus found herself engaged in a death-struggle for her Italian provinces, events had taken place at the seat of government which threatened the very existence of the Hapsburg dynasty. The tidings of the fall of Louis Philippe, which reached Vienna on the 1st of March, found a large population there, including the whole literary and artistic class, in the mood to profit by the lesson which Paris had taught them. The agents of the Secret Societies, the idle, and the disaffected, who are ever ready in great cities

to profit by periods of popular excitement, got quickly to work, and demands for constitutional reforms, in themselves most reasonable, were enforced by armed and tumultuous crowds in a way that could only result in those scenes of havoc and bloodshed which it has always been the policy of revolutionary leaders to provoke. On the 13th of March this point was reached. The mob broke into and sacked the palace of Prince Metternich. The troops were now called into action, and lives were lost. The mob, repulsed for the moment, retired only to prepare for a more determined resistance. Further encounters between the troops and the people took place. The time for decided action against the insurgents had come; but the Emperor could not be prevailed upon to take it, even although urged to do so by those who saw the salutary reforms they had hoped for imperilled by the anarchy in which there now seemed too much reason to apprehend that the movement would result. Concession after concession was made, but only to give rise to fresh demands, till at last a promise was extorted from the Archduke Louis to serve out arms from the public arsenals to the students of the University, two thousand in number, who had been most active in the insurrection.

Amid the general confusion Prince Metternich maintained his courage and his dignity. His vocation was at an end when those for whom his brain had wrought through a long life refused to strike for the safety of their crown and the principles on which they had worn it. 'If Emperors disappear, it is never till they have come to despair of themselves,' were his significant words, on resigning into the hands of the Archduke Louis, as representing the Emperor, the office he had so long monopolized as leader of the Imperial Councils. Even then he was prepared to have stood by his Sovereign, and to have resisted further concessions to the popular demands. But a brief interview with

the Emperor himself sufficed to show that he, too, like Louis Philippe, was wholly overawed by the storm which his Absolutist policy had evoked, and that between the only alternatives now open to him of concession or resistance, he had made his choice of concession. After this there was but one course open to his former Minister. In Vienna his life was no longer safe. Next day he left it in company with the Princess Metternich, and the great diplomatist, on whose decisions the fate of nations had so often seemed to hang, had to make his way to England through Germany, under a feigned name and in disguise, with a price set upon his head,—so violent and so widely spread was the personal hatred which his policy had created throughout the German States.[5]

Austria was now made to feel the dangers of an empire composed of different and in some respects antagonistic races, each jealous of their national independence. The downfall of Prince Metternich gave fresh energy to the agitation by Kossuth and the Hungarian Liberals for the separation of the Kingdom of Hungary from that of Austria, carrying with it the whole of the Sclavonic population. The numbers of the Sclaves were more than three times greater than those of the Magyars; and animosities of long standing had made them jealous of the attempts of the Magyar race to establish

[5] The signs of the coming political storm in Europe were too marked to have escaped the notice of so able a man as Metternich. In the autumn of 1847 Baron von Usedom mentions, that the Prince spoke to him 'at much length of the political ruin which threatened to fall on Europe soon, perhaps very soon, and of the ever deeper growth and ever wider range of Radical and Communistic ideas, against which all means of repression had proved ineffectual. . . . I am no prophet,' he said, 'and I know not what will happen: but I am an old practitioner, and I know how to discriminate between curable and fatal diseases. This one is fatal; here we hold fast as long as we can, but I despair of the issue'—(*Politische Briefe und Charakteristiken aus der Deutschen Gegenwart.* Berlin, 1849). The above passage is quoted from a powerful article by Lord Houghton, 'Reflections on the Political State of Germany,' which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1849.

supremacy over them. So long as both were constituents of one great kingdom, the Sclavonic races were content to be governed through the Hungarian Diet and Ministry; but they were resolved not to become a subordinate part of a separate Hungarian kingdom. The erection of Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia into a distinct monarchy, with its own specific laws, legislature, and municipal institutions, could alone satisfy their aspirations; and in these separate and conflicting demands it was easy to foresee a long future of agitation and turmoil for the Austrian Empire.

Nowhere was the shock of the French Revolution more felt than in Germany; because nowhere were men's minds more bent on securing the advantages of popular institutions and responsible government. That political freedom, which, as we have seen, Prince Albert had been so anxious to see conceded spontaneously by the numerous reigning families there, when this might have been done with advantage to themselves, and so as to assure the greatest amount of advantage to their people, was left to be extorted from the reluctant hands that were now shown to be unable to withhold it.

The movement began in the south-western States, where on the 29th of February the Grand Duke of Baden was compelled, under popular pressure, to concede liberty of the press, the formation of a National Guard, and trial by jury, —a concession followed a few days afterwards by the dismissal of his Ministers, and the formation of a new Ministry, of which M. Welcker, who had distinguished himself as a leader of the Liberals, was a leading member. From Mannheim and Carlsruhe the contagion spread to Darmstadt, Wiesbaden, Hesse Cassel, and Hanover, in all of which it was followed by similar results. In Cologne a movement in the same direction was only quelled by military force. In Munich, where discontent with the existing Constitution

was aggravated by disgust at the unseemly influence over the King of a female favourite, who under the name of Lola Montès disguised the fact that she was the discarded English wife of an English officer, the cry for a Republic was raised. Nor was tranquillity restored until on the 21st of March the King, who for twenty-three years had reigned not without honour, and, by his enlightened patronage of the Fine Arts, and in other ways, had done much for the welfare of his people, abdicated in favour of his son. At Dresden also tumults broke out early in March, under the pressure of which the King called a Liberal Ministry to his councils, who appeased the popular demands by the announcement of a policy, in which freedom of the press, trial by jury, the right of public meeting, and a fair representation of the people, formed prominent features.

The tide of insurrection swept at the same time over the minor states and principalities. In the Odenwald the peasants rose against their feudal lords, seized their castles, burnt their archives, and put them and their officials to flight. From one end of the country to the other power seemed all at once to have fallen from the hands of those by whom it had hitherto been wielded. The work of destruction was in full play. Who might tell what must be gone through before that of permanent reconstruction should begin? Well might the Prince, as he contemplated these convulsions, say, in writing (11th March, 1848) to Baron Stockmar:

'The state of things in Germany is very remarkable, and is another proof that what does not happen at the right time is, by force of outward circumstances, sooner or later brought to pass, and then with a crash.'

Paris, which had set the example of revolution, had by this time begun to show what misery it had brought upon itself by its own act. Business was at a stand-still, manu-

factories and workshops were closed, the people were without work and without bread, an armed mob held the Provisional Government under perpetual menace, and by many a speech and pamphlet members of that Government had pledged themselves to the doctrine that it was the duty of the Government to find employment or food for all who claimed them. The warning offered by this spectacle was not lost upon England or Belgium, both of which were watching it with anxious interest, but with little sympathy towards the leading actors in the lurid drama; and the Prince seems to have regretted that his own countrymen were not in the same calm temper of mind to observe and profit by its ghastly lessons. On the 15th of March, he writes to Stockmar:

'. . . The word "seasonable" (*zeitgemäss*) seems now to be the standing motto. No letter or leading article contains anything else. Never do I cease to lament that, being himself in a state of ferment, the German loses as he does the chance of studying the state of things in France, which presents one of the most remarkable phenomena of social chemistry (*Prozesses*), in the decomposition of the whole social public wrought by the re-agents. In three weeks we shall have the first precipitate, which will be a bloody one. The dregs of the populace, who now *alone* may be styled the people, are to be the rulers; they are armed, and in a fortnight will be without bread, for all labour is at a standstill, the banks are failing, the capitalists getting out of the way.'

Meanwhile, tidings were on their way to him from his friend, which were calculated to deepen his regret, that before entering on the path of revolution his countrymen had not waited to see what it had effected for social well-being or true freedom in France. The following letter from Baron Stockmar, written on the 14th of March, was only one of several intimations which reached him, that what

threatened to be a Reign of Terror had begun, which might throw back for years the cause of political freedom, and of social progress in the country of his birth :

'This morning I had the pleasure to receive Y.R.H.'s gracious communication of the 8th. It expresses a hope that peace will be maintained, without explaining the grounds on which this hope is based. God grant it be fulfilled! I should be much pleased to have a copy of the letter to the King of Prussia, who ought now to read once more the letter of December, 1846, in order to compare the views it contains with the events of the last three weeks.

'I am much pleased with the way Belgium has behaved up to the present time. With us, on the contrary, things are in a bad way, and it is quite upon the cards that they will be much worse still. The state of things is identical with that of the so-called Peasants' War of 1525. As that was a revolution, caused by a new set of views of religion, misunderstood and frightfully perverted by the multitude, so is it now with the revolution, which the new ideas in political life have evoked. For several days the Valley of the Maine, from Kronach down to Lichtenfels, has been in open rebellion. The Herren V. Redwitz have been maltreated, wounded, and driven out of the country. Radwitz and Mitwitz have been set on fire, several of the official residences have been devastated and sacked, and, in particular, efforts have been made to destroy all books, acts, and documents which have reference to feudal burdens and imposts. Here in Coburg meetings of the peasantry have been held, through which a combination between them and the Bavarian insurgents might readily be brought about.'

Up to this time things had remained comparatively tranquil at Berlin. But as the tidings poured in of what had been done and was doing elsewhere to enforce attention to

the demands for constitutional government, the democratic spirit could no longer be repressed. A great reform meeting was held on the 13th of March, which ended in a collision between the military and the populace. For many days disorder reigned in the streets, and it became apparent that the shadowy promises of liberal reforms which had been held out by the King would no longer be accepted. Quick to appreciate the position, the King, in order to place himself at the head of a movement which he feared himself unable to withstand, issued a proclamation on the 18th of March, in which, together with the grant of freedom of the press, and other important concessions, he appealed to the sympathies of the whole German nation by announcing his adhesion to the movement for the transformation of Germany from a Confederation of States into one Federal State, with one flag, one army, one fleet, one customs law, one central authority.

But on the very day on which this proclamation appeared, the streets of Berlin were deluged with blood, in a prolonged conflict between the soldiers and the populace. Overjoyed at the concession they had secured, the people had crowded to the Square before the Palace, to offer their congratulations to the King, who came out upon the balcony to receive them. Whether by accident or from a determination by the more violent democrats to provoke a collision, shots were fired at the squadron of cavalry which was drawn up under the windows of the Palace. They moved forward, without unsheathing their swords, to clear the square. But at this moment two muskets of the infantry went off. No one was hurt; but on the instant the cry arose, 'Treachery! to arms!' Mingled rage and fear seized the crowd. As if by magic barricades were raised in the principal streets, and a rapid fusillade was opened by the mob. The troops had

now no alternative but to act with vigour, and a sanguinary struggle ensued, that was carried on throughout the night, illuminated by the pale lustre of a cloudless moon and by the flames of numerous houses, which were sacked and set on fire by the combatants. By nine in the morning the military had surrounded the insurgents, and held them quite under control, when, unexpectedly, the order was given to cease firing, thus giving to the populace the semblance at least of having gained a victory. In the conflict 216 of the people and sixteen of the soldiers had been killed.[6]

Aghast at this pitiable calamity and the prospects which it opened, the King during the night dictated an Appeal to his 'beloved Berliners,' to remove their barricades, lay down their arms, and to send to him 'men speaking words which are seemly to your King,' engaging if this were done that the troops should at once be withdrawn from the streets. But the crisis was one where to be stern is at once the truest policy and the truest kindness. It would have been far better for his subjects if the King had done then what he had to do at a later date, and put down by military force the revolutionary party, whom his forbearance only encouraged in projects which for long afterwards kept the kingdom in confusion. And for himself—was it to be supposed that Germany would place its trust for the task of regeneration in a monarch who had not the nerve to quell a tumultuous mob within his own capital? As it was, his appeal was an admission that the revolution had triumphed, and, as a

[6] 'The "great misunderstanding" of the night of the 19th of March, 1848,' Bunsen writes, in 1849, after returning from a visit to the Court of Berlin, 'remains a secret. An aide-de-camp (whose name no one knows) brought an order in the King's name "that the troops should withdraw," instead of which the King had commanded, "that the troops should withdraw towards the Palace." This enigma nobody could or would solve to me; but General N— assured me that at twelve o'clock that night the King was resolved to retreat out of the town with the troops, and to invest it;—then began a state of wavering, until all was too late!'

necessary consequence, more substantial guarantees were now indispensable to allay the popular frenzy.

Next day the Ministry was supplanted by men of known liberal opinions; an amnesty for political offences was then proclaimed, the doors of the State Prison were thrown open, and Mieroslawski, the most distinguished of the Polish prisoners,—a man who was soon after to become conspicuous as a popular general in Poland, Italy and elsewhere, was drawn in triumph to the front of the Palace, where the King appeared upon the balcony in answer to the cheers of the assembled thousands. Meanwhile a royal ordinance had directed the formation of a Burgher Guard, to be armed forthwith at the expense of the city, and this, as might have been expected, was speedily followed by an order for the troops to quit Berlin.[7] Still further to mark the deference which he could no longer refuse to the popular will, when the dead bodies of those who had fallen on the 19th were borne in long procession a few days afterwards before the windows of the Palace, the King not only appeared upon the balcony in obedience to the call of the crowd, but came down to them, and with uncovered head addressed them with so much effusive sentiment as to command their cheers.

In an address which he made upon the 20th of March to the students, who had been most active in the stormy proceedings of the last few days, Count Schwerin, one of the new Ministers, proclaimed it to be his master's intention to take the lead of Constitutional Germany. 'He will have liberty and a Constitution—he will originate and

[7] The King's brother, the Prince of Prussia, now Emperor of Germany, who was represented by the democratic leaders as entertaining reactionary opinions, had to leave the city, and his palace was only saved from the fury of the mob by having the words 'National Property' inscribed on it. Every species of calumny was propagated against him; and long after he had taken up his abode in London the report was current in Berlin that he was on his way back from Warsaw with a Russian army to put down the national movement.

form a German Parliament—and he will head the progress of the nation.' This was followed by the appearance of the King himself in the streets on horseback next day, with what the Democratic party used in those days to call 'the German colours,' viz. black, red, and yellow, round his arm. Speeches were made by him and proclamations issued full of the emotional eloquence which he had always at command; but in which, while professedly claiming 'nothing but German liberty and unity,' he was himself indicated as the future 'leader of the German people, the new King of the free regenerated German nation.'

This was a note of defiance, not merely to Austria, but to other Sovereigns, who must be reckoned with, before the Imperial Crown could rest upon the head of a Hohenzollern. The perplexed state of Austria had been avowed by the King, in his proclamation of the 18th, to be favourable to the execution of his projects for the unification of Germany. But though at the moment sorely troubled from within, the arm of Austria had not lost its power. And whatever weight these utterances of the Prussian Sovereign might have carried with them, had they been made betimes, and while he was master of his kingdom, German liberals were not likely to accept a leader whom they had proved by long experience to be a man of words rather than of deeds, and whose principles of government were most likely to carry him into a reactionary course, so soon as the temporary pressure and temporary excitement under which he now acted were at an end.

No sooner did Baron Stockmar hear of the proceedings at Berlin, than he wrote (31st March):

'The poor King of Prussia has made a sad mess. Never has he made a move or a concession but it was too late, nay, when it would have been better had he done nothing. Metternich and the Russian Emperor were the bane both of him and of Germany. Had he but listened to Prince Albert's letter of 1846,

how simple, how easy would it have been for him to have taken another course in the Cracow affair, and how safe, how glorious, how great would his position have been at this moment—master of a power sufficient to uphold all Germany! In Germany no one will hear of him now: "Rather the Emperor of Austria or the King of Bavaria." Thus it is we Germans confound the cause with the individual!'—(*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 487.)

CHAPTER XXIV.

Such as we have faintly sketched it was the scene of convulsion and confusion which, in the beginning of 1848, everywhere met the eye throughout the continent of Europe,—'distress of nations with perplexity,' and 'men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after the things which were coming on the earth.' The bonds of society seemed to be unloosed, and turbulence and disorder to have taken the place of law and the discipline of government. In the general chaos it was not easy to foresee what further convulsions might ensue before peace should be restored, and the angry passions and wild theories by which the social fabric was shaken to its centre should be succeeded by the reign of practical good sense and the self-imposed restraints of genuine liberty.

Amid the general storm England and Belgium stood forth as a beacon to the nations that it was not necessary to look to a republic for the highest measure of personal freedom and happiness, or of national strength. The Belgian republicans, who had formed a strong party in 1830, when King Leopold accepted the throne, had dwindled into insignificant proportions during the eighteen intervening years of his wise administration. An attempt at a revolutionary movement in Brussels, on the 28th of February, met with no encouragement from the people, and was put down at once. When about a month afterwards an expedition, concerted in Paris and armed from the public arsenals by M. Ledru Rollin, then Minister of the Interior there,

descended upon the Belgian frontier, in place of meeting with the sympathy on which it had counted, it found itself unexpectedly surrounded at Quiévrain by a united force of military and peasants, who quietly marched off some of the invaders to prison, whilst others were conducted back to the French frontier.

'Belgium,' the Queen wrote to King Leopold, a few days afterwards, 'is a bright star in the midst of dark clouds. It makes us all very happy.' It is easy to conceive how welcome to the Queen and Prince was the assurance that one kingdom had remained unshaken amid the general upheaval, and that the kingdom of one who was endeared to them by so many ties. What they had endured since the outburst of the revolutionary tempest in Paris will be best shown by a few words from a letter of Her Majesty on the 6th of March to Baron Stockmar: 'I am quite well—indeed particularly so, though God knows we have had since the 25th enough for a whole life,—anxiety, sorrow, excitement, in short, I feel as if we had jumped over thirty years' experience at once. The whole face of Europe is changed, and I feel as if I lived in a dream.'

Besides the anxieties, specially due to their position, which were occasioned to the Queen and Prince by the course of public events abroad, they had to suffer much from natural sympathy with their relatives, to whom these events had brought misery and disaster. As one by one the members of the French Royal Family arrived to claim their sheltering kindness, the terrible contrast to the circumstances under which an affectionate intimacy with them had grown up could not fail to excite deep emotion. 'You know,' writes the Queen, in the letter to Baron Stockmar just cited, 'my love for the family; you know how I longed to get on better terms with them again. . . . and you said, "Time will alone, but will certainly bring it about." Little

did I dream that this would be the way we should meet again, and see each other all in the most friendly way. That the Duchess de Montpensier, about whom we have been quarrelling for the last year and a half, should be here as a fugitive, and dressed in the clothes I sent her, and should come to thank *me* for *my kindness*, is a reverse of fortune which no novelist would devise, and upon which one could moralise for ever.'[1]

The convulsion in Germany had brought ruin upon the estates of Prince Hohenlohe, the husband of the Queen's half-sister, and of her half-brother, Prince Leiningen. Writing on the 27th of March to the Queen, the Princess Hohenlohe says, after mentioning that her husband Prince Ernest will go to attend the Diet at Frankfort in compliance with the King of Würtemberg's wish: 'What this meeting will bring, God knows! I mean for Germany. For us, personally, there is nothing more to be done at present. We are undone and must begin a new existence of privations, which I don't care for, but for poor Ernest I feel it more than I can say.'

Each successive letter from the Princess brought more vividly home the state of utter confusion which reigned around her. 'All minds,' she writes from Stuttgart (3rd April), 'are on the stretch, as well they may be, while so much, everything is at stake. Never was such a state of lawless "vagabondage" as there is now all over Germany, more or less. At all hours of the day young men are walking about the streets doing nothing. The work-people have nothing to do, the merchants can sell nothing, the manufacturers

[1] 'To-day is historical,' says Lady Lyttelton, writing from Windsor on the 6th March, 'Louis Philippe having come from Claremont to pay a private (*very* private) visit to the Queen. She is really enviable now, to have in her power and in her path of duty such a boundless piece of charity and beneficent hospitality. The reception by *the people* of England of all the fugitives has been beautifully kind.'

have nothing to occupy their work-people, and are obliged to dismiss them.' Again, writing four days later, the Princess says: 'I think you can hardly have an idea of the state Germany is in now. The want of respect for all that is called law is dreadful. I don't speak of ourselves, or out of fear; there is no danger at this moment for us more than any other "Bürger," but the spirit of utter demoralisation in the lower classes is something beyond belief. . . . In Baden it is worse, and more or less this spirit is the same all over Germany, and unfortunately those that are in the good and right principles are afraid to act and speak. . . . You have no idea how low Ernest sometimes is; it quite distresses me to see it. I think women can bear up better against the blows of misfortune than men, particularly when they cannot be active in the strife round about them, but see things go down more and more every day, and are yet not able to move a hand to steady the wheel.'

From Coburg and Gotha, too, came from time to time accounts of violence and revolutionary excitement of a most disquieting kind. 'You know,' the Queen writes to Baron Stockmar (22nd April), 'how attached I am to that country, how I longed to see our little Coburg again. You will therefore imagine easily how deeply grieved I am to see the present state of things; for in their present wild madness they tear down all that was good and useful, as well as what ought to be destroyed. . . . It is wonderful to see how my dear Prince bears up under so much anxiety and distress: for these one must feel, if one loves one's country and sees the awful state things have got into. But he is full of courage, and takes such a large and noble view of everything that he overlooks trifles, and looks solely to the general good. . . . How can one be happy, when one sees and hears of such misery all around? The poor Hohenlohes and Charles Leiningen have suffered much. And then these poor exiles

at Claremont! Their life, their future breaks one's heart to think of. How one must pity them all!'

There were some who were disposed to infer from the personal kindness shown by the Queen and Prince to the Orleans family, that the establishment of a Republic in France was regarded at our Court with active hostility. Speaking on the 28th of February, Lord John Russell had anticipated such mistaken surmises by stating, that while it was not the intention of the Government to interfere in any way whatever with any settlement France might think proper to make with respect to her own government, he did not believe 'England would refuse to perform any of those sacred duties of hospitality which she has performed at all times to the vanquished whoever they were, whether of extreme royalist opinions, of moderate opinions, or of extreme liberal opinions. Those duties of hospitality,' he added, amid the cheers of the House, 'have made this country the asylum for the unfortunate, and I for one will never consent that we should neglect them.' But even the jealous suspicions of the French Provisional Government, which took the shape, a few days afterwards, of an official complaint on account of the kindness shown in England to the ex-Royal Family, might have been quieted, could they have known in what terms the Queen had written to King Leopold on the 1st of March, three days before Louis Philippe reached the English coast.

'About the King and Queen we still know nothing. . . . We do everything we can for the poor family, who are indeed sorely to be pitied. But you will naturally understand that we cannot make *cause commune* with them, and cannot take a hostile position to the new state of things in France. We leave them alone; but if a Government which has the approbation of the country be formed, we shall feel it necessary to recognise it in order to pin them down to

maintain peace and the existing treaties, which is of the greatest importance. It will not be pleasant to do this, but the public good and the peace of Europe go before one's personal feelings.'

It was to be expected that the success of the revolution in Paris should set in motion among ourselves some of those elements of disturbance which are to be found in large cities, where there will always be numbers of hungry and unscrupulous men to listen to the assurances of hot-headed or ambitious enthusiasts, that the panacea for all their grievances is to be found in revolution. London was for some time kept in a ferment by the noisy mobs who were drawn together by agitators of this description. On the 6th of March they assembled in Trafalgar Square in very considerable numbers, on the occasion of a meeting against the Income Tax, convened by Mr. Cochrane, an unsuccessful candidate for Westminster at the last election, and gave the police some trouble to disperse. For some days turbulent crowds made themselves so obnoxious by obstructing the thoroughfares, breaking windows, and putting shopkeepers in alarm for their property, that a feeling of indignation at the exploits of a contemptible rabble became general. The arrest of a few of the ringleaders was sufficient to restore peace. The movement, however, probably received its most deadly blow from the torrent of ridicule which it provoked on all hands.[2] But when some weeks afterwards the agitation by the Chartists took a more serious shape, the public

[2] A portion of the mob had rushed to Buckingham Palace, on the evening of the 6th of March, shouting '*Vive la République*,' breaking the lamps as they went, and headed by a youth wearing epaulettes. The sight of the Guard, who turned out at their approach, was enough to quell their ardour. Soon afterwards the hero of the epaulettes was seized by the police, and began to cry! Such an incident was not likely to escape the notice of the great caricaturist of the day, Mr. John Leech, and it was turned by him to most admirable account in the next number of that 'abstract and brief chronicle of the time'—*Punch*. (See *Punch*, vol. xiv. p. 112).

annoyance and the mischief of these few days were not forgotten, and the citizens of London then showed that they would put down with a firm hand any attempt at popular disturbance. 'Our little riots here,' the Queen writes to King Leopold on the 11th of March, 'are mere nothings, and the feeling here is good.' The same letter wishes the King joy 'of the continued satisfactory behaviour of my friends the good Belgians; but,' adds Her Majesty, 'what an extraordinary state of things everywhere! *Je ne sais plus où je suis*, and I could almost fancy we have gone back into the last century. But I also feel that one must not be nervous or alarmed at these moments, but be of good cheer and muster up courage to meet all the difficulties.'

In Glasgow a riot of a much more serious character broke out on the 5th of March. The people there, and in other parts of the west of Scotland, had long been suffering severely from continued want of employment, and were thus very likely to be acted upon by inflammatory agitators. A mob of about 5,000 men met upon Glasgow Green, tore up the iron railings of some adjoining property, and armed with these, entered the city, and attacked the principal shops, especially those of the gunsmiths and jewellers. So completely were the public authorities taken by surprise, that before the police force could be concentrated, and the assistance of the military obtained, forty shops had been pillaged, and property to a large amount carried off or destroyed. The citizens were in no mood, however, to endure the licence of a mob of this description. They enrolled themselves in great numbers as special constables,—the pensioners mustered of their own accord,—and by next morning not less than 2,000 soldiers had been collected in the city. These prompt measures prevented a great catastrophe; for next day about ten thousand men, armed with the warlike spoils of the previous day, assembled again upon the Green, and

passed resolutions to turn out the workers at the neighbouring mills, who it was expected would join them,—to cut the gas-pipes,—to break open the gaols,—to sack the shops, and set fire to and plunder the city. As they were on their way to carry the first of these resolutions into effect, they came across a detachment of fourteen pensioners in charge of a prisoner under the command of a sergeant of police. An attempt to rescue the prisoner was made, but the pensioners stood their ground, and when the mob tried to close in upon them, fired. Two men fell dead and three were wounded. The infuriated crowd rushed upon the veterans and would have overpowered them, when the Sheriff of Lanarkshire[3] rode in among them at the head of a troop of dragoons, and followed by a strong body of cavalry. At the sight of this formidable reinforcement, the mob, feeling they were powerless, gave way and speedily dispersed. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the spirit shown by the people and military in putting down this tumult, which otherwise might have produced the most disastrous consequences. For it was afterwards ascertained that the success of the insurrection in Glasgow was to have been the signal for similar risings and similar pillage in all the manufacturing towns of the west of Scotland; which it might have been impossible to check, as the whole available

[3] Mr. (afterwards Sir Archibald) Alison, the historian. This was not the first time this 'stout sheriff' had shown that in the discharge of his duty he was as fearless as the bravest of the heroes whom he delighted to depict. Ten years before (3rd August, 1837) he was the first to walk into the midst of sixteen conspirators, armed and desperate men, as they sat plotting schemes of arson and assassination in a garret in the Gallowgate of Glasgow, to which the only access was by a ladder through a trap-door. For weeks after his life was in constant danger. During the trial that followed, the court-house was surrounded by immense mobs, including many desperate members of the Cotton-Spinners' Association, which had held the west of Scotland in terror for many months, and who would only have been true to their creed if they had carried into execution their threats to kill the Sheriff, whose firmness, they knew, had given their combination its death-blow. The writer, who was present at the trial, can never forget the admirable clearness and temperate force with which Mr. Alison gave his evidence.

military forces of the district had been concentrated in the metropolis of the West.

About the same time disturbances of a much less serious character occurred at Edinburgh, Newcastle, Manchester, and other places. But they were easily dealt with by the police; and, like the scenes in London and Glasgow, by opening the eyes of such of the community as had anything to lose to the dangers of mob law, and to the system which, as Mr. Disraeli said in a speech about this time, 'begins with fraternity and universal charity, and ends with bloodshed and spoliation,' they strengthened the hands of Government in the coming struggle with the Chartists of England and Scotland, and the revolutionary party in Ireland.

By this time it was apparent that the Throne and the Constitution had a hold too deep upon the hearts of the British nation to leave any doubt as to their stability; and Sir Robert Peel only did justice to the prevailing sentiment, when, in the midst of these occurrences, he wrote to Baron Stockmar as follows (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 620):—

'However terrible the storm of the moment may appear to the younger men among us, I am firmly persuaded that we shall tide it over, because I believe that the times are in our favour, that is, in favour of the cause of constitutional freedom under the ægis of Monarchy. Therefore it now behoves us here in England to come forward as an exemplar, and to prove to Europe that the monarchical constitution is the strongest bulwark of genuine possible freedom.'

As such an exemplar England was already being held up by the wiser spirits among the leaders of the popular movement in Germany. Thus, for example, at a great meeting, at which 30,000 persons assembled, on the 26th of March, in and around the old Castle of Heidelberg, Herr Welcker contrasted our condition with that of France in these terms:—

'Do not,' he said, 'mistake licence for liberty, nor suppose that because much must be remodelled, all must be overturned. . . . Look to France! She now, for the second time, possesses that form of government in which alone, according to some, true freedom is to be found. What has she gained by it? What is her present condition? What her future prospects? To say the least, they are not encouraging. . . . But regard the present condition of England!' (*Here the speaker was interrupted by thunders of applause.*) 'Let her be our model; she has long enjoyed free institutions; she alone now remains unshaken by the storm which is howling around, and it is to her we must look as our model and our guide!'

What happened in England within the next few days was sufficient to prove beyond a doubt, if indeed any doubt could have been entertained, that the English people (to use that much-abused phrase in its true sense) were resolved that none of the advantages secured to them by their Constitution should be put in peril at the bidding of a faction. It had been the object of the Chartists to intimidate the Government by gross exaggerations of their numbers, and by menaces of meetings which by their magnitude should render resistance to their demands impossible. Their numbers and organisation were too formidable to be despised; and when they announced their intention of assembling on Kennington Common, on the 10th of April, to the number of 150,000, and of marching to the Houses of Parliament in procession, with a monster Petition, which had been preparing throughout the country for some weeks, the time was felt to have arrived for dealing decidedly with the movement.

No one could foretell what lamentable occurrences might result from the concentration in the capital of so immense a multitude. The danger was one which every good citizen could appreciate, and the well-affected determined to take an active part in showing that they were not to be controlled by agitators or their tools. Accordingly they enrolled them-

selves to the number of not less than 170,000 as special constables, of whom Prince Louis Napoleon was one, for the purpose of supporting the regular civil force, or of acting, if this had become necessary, along with the military. Neither can it be doubted, that they would have acted with unmistakeable energy, had the occasion arisen. But the measures of the Government were so well devised, that the day which had been apprehended as likely to be one of bloodshed and destruction passed off without disturbance. The Chartists assembled at Kennington Common, not 500,000 strong, as alleged by Mr. Feargus O'Connor, their leader and chief speaker, (then hovering on the verge of the insanity which afterwards overtook him,) but to the number of certainly not more than 23,000. They had the wisdom to bow to the intimation of the police, that they would not be allowed to cross the bridges in mass; and their monster Petition, instead of being triumphantly borne in procession to the doors of Parliament, was despatched thither by back streets in three common cabs, and presented to the House of Commons in the usual manner. The baffled processionists had to find their way back to their homes in broken order as best they might, and feeling that they had provoked the mingled anger and contempt of that English people whose political aspirations they professed to represent.

These feelings were not diminished when it came to be known, as it soon was, that the numbers who had mustered in procession did not exceed 8,000, while Mr. Feargus O'Connor stated them in his place in the House of Commons at half a million, and that the monster Petition, instead of the 5,700,000 signatures which he protested were attached to it, had in fact only 1,975,496 signatures. Of these, moreover, a very large portion were purely fictitious, having in many instances been copied by paid clerks out of local Directories, or swelled by the addition of the names of Her Majesty, the

Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and others of equally Chartist proclivities.

When the day had passed, people were half disposed to smile at their own fears; but the relief with which the tidings were received throughout the kingdom showed how great was the alarm which had been generally felt. The day would have ended very differently, but that the Chartist leaders were aware how futile any attempt to carry out their plans of mischief would have been in the face of the complete precautions which had been taken by the Government. 'Yes,' said the Duke of Wellington at Lord Palmerston's, an evening or two before, in answer to the Chevalier Bunsen's remark, 'Your Grace will take us all in charge, and London too, on the 10th?'—'Yes, we have taken our measures; but not a soldier or piece of artillery shall you *see*, unless in actual need. Should the force of law, the mounted or unmounted police, be overpowered or in danger, then the troops shall advance—then is their time! But it is not fair on either side to call them in to do the work of police; the military must not be confounded with the police, nor merged in the police'—(*Bunsen's Memoirs*, ii. 174.)[4]

'The Duke must be happier to-day, I think,' Sir Robert Gardiner wrote to the Prince, on the 10th, 'than ever he was after any of his victories. The people cheered him as he came to his early post at the Horse Guards. It may be hoped this triumph of discretion, to say the least of it, must strengthen the King's power at Brussels, as I fervently hope it will confound people in other quarters. God bless Her Majesty in every way! Her subjects will deeply share the happiness Her Majesty and your Royal Highness must feel, in knowing all the evils of a fearful chance have been so mercifully averted.'

[4] The aides-de-camp of the Prince of Prussia, now the Emperor, who had for the time been compelled to leave Berlin, in deference to the popular

The Queen, yielding to the representations of her Ministers that it was better the Court should be out of London on the 10th, had retired with Prince Albert to Osborne two days before, and just three weeks after the birth of the Princess Louise. On the 11th she was able to write to King Leopold:—

'Thank God! The Chartist meeting and procession have turned out a complete failure. The loyalty of the people at large has been very striking, and their indignation at their peace being interfered with by such wanton and worthless men, immense.'

The same day a letter from the Prince bore the welcome news to Baron Stockmar. 'We,' he writes, 'had our revolution yesterday, and it ended in smoke. London turned out some hundreds of special constables; the troops were kept out of sight, to prevent the possibility of a collision, and the law has remained triumphant. I hope this will read with advantage on the Continent. Ireland still looks dangerous.'

'What a glorious day was yesterday for England!' were the Prince's words, in a letter of the same date to his Secretary, Colonel (afterwards Sir Charles) Phipps. 'How mightily will this tell all over the world!'

clamour at his having acted with the troops against the mob there, and who were fresh from scenes of revolutionary violence, expressed surprise, says Madame Bunsen, that she should have ventured to walk in St. James's Park on the morning of the 10th, while she on her part declared her inability to believe that any disturbance could take place. The incident, while it indicates the prevailing uneasiness, marks in a striking way the wide contrast which England presented at that stormy time to the other countries of the Continent.

CHAPTER XXV.

'IRELAND still looks dangerous,' wrote the Prince, on the 11th of April; and its condition at that moment certainly caused the Government much anxiety. They had lost no time in putting the Coercion Bill of the last autumn session in force. The search for arms which it authorised met indeed with no great success; for they were either conveyed out of the proclaimed districts, or too well concealed for the police to trace. But the firmness shown by the Government had its usual effect. The people, who had been tampering with sedition, were evidently cowed, and acknowledged they must be quiet, 'as the law had now got above them.' The number of convictions for crime which were obtained was also satisfactory. At the Limerick January assizes, the roll of cases suggests an appalling picture of the condition into which society had fallen. It included ten cases of murder, two of conspiring to murder, one of soliciting to murder, and two of shooting with felonious intent: but witnesses were now found to speak out, and juries to convict, and by the end of January the Lord Lieutenant (Lord Clarendon) was able to report to the Government, that the Commission had been most successful in bringing criminals to justice.

Meanwhile the misery of the country was great; famine and disease were doing their deadly work on all sides, and thousands were flying from starvation and death to England and Scotland, to swell the crowds of unemployed and struggling artisans, of whom unhappily there were already

too many there. Amidst so much suffering, it would have been indeed surprising had not great bitterness of heart existed among people who were being constantly told, that their wretchedness was due to the domination of an alien race, and to the selfishness, neglect, and oppression of their landlords. This state of feeling was not likely to die out, under the stimulants that were being hourly applied to it by many of those to whom the bulk of the people looked up as their political as well as spiritual leaders. How maddening these stimulants were, may be conceived, when a leading ecclesiastic of the Roman Catholic Church did not hesitate to denounce the Herculean efforts which the Government had made to mitigate the prevailing distress as 'a mockery of the poor law, which fattens foreign stipendiaries, and leaves the native poor to starve,' (Dr. McHale's *Letter to Lord John Russell. Feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury*, 1847) and the minor clergy of the same faith kept up the irritation of their flocks by language even more unmeasured. Nor were there wanting others, who, themselves regardless of the poor, yet took advantage of the prevailing destitution to organise secret conspiracies, all of which had the one object of attacking the rights of property, and realising the cherished Celtic dream of redressing the wrongs of a conquered race by establishing a new order of things, in which those who now occupied the land as tenants should for the future hold it for themselves alone.

Others there were, known as the party of Young Ireland, who from very various motives were bent on severing Ireland from the legislative union of the three kingdoms, as the sole means of restoring the country to independence and prosperity. The bolder spirits among these thought that the time had now come for throwing off all disguise, and accomplishing their objects by force. Their Dublin organ, *The United Irishman*, edited by Mr. John Mitchel, spoke

out with no uncertain voice. 'Let the man amongst you,' was his advice to the people, on the 4th of March, 'who has no gun, sell his garment to buy one. Every street is an excellent shooting-gallery for disciplined troops; but it is a better defile in which to take them.' Minute instructions were given for overwhelming the soldiery with missiles of all kinds, 'from the elevation of a parapet or top story.' To such missiles as broken glass, for maiming horses' feet, the writer went on to say, 'revolutionary citizens add always boiling water or grease, or, better, cold vitriol, if available. Molten lead is good, but too valuable; it should always be cast in bullets and allowed to cool. The house-tops and spouts furnish in every city abundance; but care should be taken, as they do in Paris, to run the balls solid. You cannot calculate on a hollow ball, and that might be the very one selected for a field-officer.'

It was the policy of the Government to show forbearance towards political agitators to its utmost limits, so long as it could feel assured that the preservation of order was secure. But this limit had now been reached. Pikes were being actively manufactured and sold in Dublin with a view to a menaced rising, and every day the Young Ireland party were proclaiming their treasonable intentions in language of more open defiance. On the 25th of March, *The United Irishman* contained a letter addressed by Mr. Mitchel to the 'Earl of Clarendon, Her Majesty's Executioner-General and General-Butcher of Ireland,' in which he said: 'Whichever field of battle you prefer, the Queen's Bench, or the streets and fields—whichever weapon, packed juries or whetted sabres—I trust, I believe you will now be stoutly met. One party or the other must absolutely yield. You must put us down, or we will put you down.' Mr. Mitchel's language at a meeting of the Irish Confederation in the Music Hall, Dublin, was even more unequivocal. 'I am accused,' he

said, 'by the English Viceroy, of writing sedition—I will write more sedition; nay, I will go farther; it is my intention to commit high treason. I call,' he added, 'upon every one of those now present to commit high treason; and unless you make up your minds to be slaves for ever, you must rise at an early day or early night, march through that Castle, and tear down that English flag.'

On the same occasion speeches of a no less inflammatory character were made by Mr. Meagher and Mr. Smith O'Brien—gentlemen who were at a later period of the year to signalise themselves as the leaders of the rebellion thus vehemently urged, but in which its leading advocate was to take no part, for by that time Mr. Mitchel was a banished convict. The Government were also well aware that at secret meetings, held nightly in Dublin, measures were being organised for upsetting the authorities. An appeal had been made to France by the Irish Confederation—a self-constituted nucleus for a future Irish Parliament—to assist them in establishing an Irish Republic, so that there could no longer be any doubt as to the object of the Confederation. A deputation, with Mr. Smith O'Brien at their head, had gone over to Paris, openly boasting 'that they came to claim what they were sure to obtain—the assistance of fifty thousand troops for Ireland.' These hopes were extinguished by M. Lamartine in language not to be misunderstood:—

'We are at peace,' he said, 'and we wish to remain so, with the whole kingdom of Great Britain, and not with a part of it only. We believe such a peace to be beneficial and honourable, not only to Great Britain and France, but to the whole human race. We will do no act, we will speak no word, we will address no insinuation, at variance with the principles of the reciprocal inviolability of nations which we have proclaimed.'

To hesitate longer in taking decided measures to protect the loyal majority of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland was

impossible; and the country had so unmistakeably shown its indignation and impatience at the braggart menaces and treasonable harangues of the Young Ireland party, that the Government felt assured, Parliament would not hesitate in conferring whatever additional powers they might demand to enable them to grapple with the difficulty. Accordingly no time was lost in introducing into Parliament a Bill for the more effectual repression of seditious and treasonable proceedings. Its objects were twofold. It reduced certain offences which had hitherto been dealt with as treason to the minor offence of felony; and it declared that for two years, and two years only, the penalties of felony should apply to all persons who, by publishing or printing any writing, or by open and avowed speaking, should seek to compass, imagine, or levy war against the Sovereign. Sir Robert Peel spoke with more than his usual fervour in support of the measure. Amid the ringing cheers of the House he said: 'Of the first part of this Act I cordially approve. I think it is right that men who have not the dignity of traitors shall not cover themselves with the illusion that they are so. I wish to reduce them to the position of felons.' Not less warmly received were the passages in which he spoke of the other purposes of the Act. 'In what I have read and witnessed within the last ten days,' he said, 'I think I see the proof that there is good reason for appealing to the Legislature to strengthen for a time the hands of Her Majesty's Government. We are told that fresh powers are not necessary, seeing the magnificent demonstration which was made in this metropolis last Monday week. Yes; but tell those who made that magnificent demonstration that you are prepared to take your share in the responsibility of preserving the public peace. Tell them, whose time is so valuable, and who made the severest sacrifices by the interruption of their industry, and by their personal exertions,

that you, the Government, you, the Legislature, value the institutions of this country, and that you are determined to uphold them in all their leading principles, and upon their ancient foundations. And, so far from dissatisfying, you will encourage those whose conduct you have admired to similar demonstrations of spirit and active exertions for the future.'

The measure met with the cordial approval of both Houses, and was passed rapidly through its various stages. But before it had received the Royal assent, the Government took action upon the existing law against the three leading fomenters of Irish disaffection, and on the 15th of April true Bills were found by the grand jury against Messrs. Mitchel, Meagher, and Smith O'Brien, for seditious practices tending to the disturbance of the public peace. This step did not indeed silence them in the interval preceding their trial; still it was obvious that they felt how their action had been crippled by what they denounced as the 'Gagging Bill.' But their ambition of display, while yet they were free to act, was fortunately the means of showing how little they could count upon harmonious action, even among those who were ready to join in their cry for repeal of the Union. A *soirée* was announced to be held in their honour by the Saarsfield Club at Limerick, on the 29th of April. That city, however, was the stronghold of the Old Ireland or O'Connellite party, who were working for the same ostensible end by men and measures of their own. An article recently published in *The United Irishman* had roused their indignation by reflecting severely upon the late Mr. O'Connell; they, therefore, determined that the *soirée* should not take place. A violent onslaught was made upon the store in which it was held, and in the affray which ensued, Messrs. Mitchel, Meagher, and O'Brien were so severely handled, that they had to claim the assistance of the police—that

police whom they had for months been urging their followers to destroy—to save their own lives from the vindictive fury of the rival faction!

About a fortnight afterwards, the trial of Messrs. Meagher and O'Brien, under the recent Act for the repression of seditious speaking, took place. In both instances the juries had to be dismissed, as they could not agree upon their verdict. It was to their credit, however, as well as some satisfaction to the Government, that eleven jurymen in each case had wished to record a verdict of 'guilty,' only one being found to shut his eyes to the conclusive evidence for the Crown. When Mr. Mitchel's trial came on, a few days afterwards, he was less fortunate. An unanimous verdict of guilty was obtained, and he was sentenced (27th April) to transportation for fourteen years. The same evening he was sent off by sea to Spike Island, in the Cove of Cork, to await the arrival of the convict ship, which was to convey him to Bermuda. Lord Clarendon had accepted his challenge, and put him down.

The conviction of Mitchel, while it struck dismay to the hearts of his immediate followers, led to a violent explosion of rage on the part of the disaffected throughout England, who had been looking forward to a successful rising in Ireland, as the signal for a simultaneous outbreak in most of the chief towns on this side of the Channel. To what lengths they were prepared to go may be inferred from the fact that one of their many designs for pillage and destruction was to set fire to the ships at the Liverpool Docks, and to the factories at Manchester. But of all these the Government had complete information, and they were prepared to strike at the heart of the conspiracy on a moment's notice. So soon as the fact of Mitchel's conviction became known, violent meetings of Chartists and Repealers were held in London, at which proposals were made to march with

arms in their hands on Buckingham Palace to demand that he should be set at liberty. These mobs came into conflict with the police, but without any serious result. Writing to Baron Stockmar, the Prince says of their proceedings:—

'. . . We have Chartist riots every night, which result in numbers of broken heads. The organisation of these people is incredible. They have secret signals, and correspond from town to town by means of carrier pigeons. In London they are from 10,000 to 20,000 strong, which is not much out of a population of two millions; but if they could, by means of their organisation, throw themselves in a body upon any one point, they might be successful in a *coup-de-main*. Up to this time they have been dealt with only through the police; and if it is possible to keep them in check without military force, the troops will certainly not be allowed to come into conflict with them. The loyalty of the country on the whole is, besides, very great; and it is impossible, so far as the person of the Sovereign is concerned, that it should ever be greater.

'Buckingham Palace, 6th May, 1848.'

Notwithstanding the manifest impatience and indignation everywhere shown throughout the country against an agitation, the mischievous objects of which it was impossible to doubt, its ramifications were too wide and its leaders too unscrupulous to forego their purposes without a further struggle. London, Manchester, Stockport, Oldham, Liverpool, Birmingham, and other places were for a time thrown into excitement by the assemblage of multitudes, who were only kept from becoming dangerous by the energetic measures of the Government and the local authorities. Nor were these tumultuous gatherings brought to an end until several of the most conspicuous of their leaders had been arrested, and

the futility of their plans demonstrated even to themselves by the disclosure, in the course of the trials which followed, of the fact that their most secret deliberations were instantly made known to the authorities by more than one of their most trusted associates.

It will thus be seen, that it was not alone the state of affairs on the Continent, which at this time filled the minds of the Queen and Prince with anxious thoughts. They were not for a moment disquieted as to the national loyalty. But it was impossible for them to see without many a pang the distress under which the country was labouring aggravated by the uneasiness which these turbulent proceedings were calculated to excite. 'Commerce,' the Prince writes to Stockmar, on the 29th of April, 'is at a dead lock, and manufactures depressed; numbers of citizens are out of work, and the prospects of the revenue are gloomy.' Still, amid so much to alarm and to depress at home and abroad; with the eye bent on every detail of what was happening or surmised, that was furnished not merely by his private correspondence, but by the Government despatches, the Prince never 'bated one jot in heart or hope, but steered right onward,' in full reliance that the sound heart of the nation would carry it through every emergency.

The brief stay at Osborne,[1] which had been dictated by uncertainty as to what might happen on the 10th of April, with the pleasant rural pursuits by which their other labours could there be relieved, came to an end on the 2nd of May.

[1] 'Being with Prince Albert and the Queen,' Madame Bunsen writes, on the occasion of a visit by her husband to Osborne at this time, 'is always a refreshment to Bunsen. The sympathy and interest with which they receive and encourage all his outpourings is as remarkable in itself as it is rare; and his consciousness of the insight and judgment of Prince Albert grows in proportion as he becomes better acquainted with his manner of thinking on various subjects.'—*Bunsen's Memoirs*, ii. 176.

'We are going to town to-day,' the Queen writes to King Leopold, 'with great regret, as the occupation of farming, gardening, planting, improving, &c. is so very soothing, and does one's wearied, worried mind so much good.' 'Albert,' Her Majesty adds, 'is my constant pride and admiration, and his cheerfulness and courage are my great comfort and satisfaction; but, believe me, I am often very sad.' Grave and earnest, as the general current of the Prince's thoughts at this time was, the admirable gift of humour which never failed him, no less than the 'wise cheerfulness' (to use Wordsworth's happy phrase) of a mind that had disciplined itself to take a broad and patient view of the vicissitudes of life, stood him in excellent stead at this time, and helped to sustain the spirits of Her Majesty, and of others about him, upon whom they acted as a salutary tonic. 'It is he,' the Queen writes in another letter to her uncle at this period, 'who always makes dear Victoire (the Duchess of Nemours) quite merry, when she comes here. He has that happy gift of constant cheerfulness, which is a treasure in these times.'

In the midst of his multifarious occupations at this period, the Prince had found time to adapt the music of a chorale, which he had written some years before, to the hymn 'In life's gay morn' (now well known as the 'Gotha tune') for the service at the christening of the Princess Louise. This ceremony took place on the 13th of May, in the Private Chapel of Buckingham Palace, when the Princess received the names of Louise Caroline Alberta, the leading name of Louise being given after that of the Prince's mother, and of the Queen of the Belgians. It was followed by a state banquet, in honour of the occasion; and the whole month, in which the birthdays of both the Queen and of the Princess Helena fell, was enlivened by an unusual number of court balls and receptions. That the hearts of the royal hosts should often have been very heavy in the midst of

these gaieties was but natural. That they were so, a few words in a letter to the Queen from her sister, the Princess Hohenlohe, show very clearly. 'For the birthday of dear little Helena,'[2] the Princess writes, 'accept my best wishes. I can well understand how the fêtes, balls, &c. you have to give are rather a *burden* to you this year, instead of an amusement as they were in other times. When we know those we love, or are interested in, are in sorrow or danger, these gaieties become quite a duty to perform, the mind being occupied with far different things.'

From the same kind hand came the following birthday greeting to the Queen. What comfort must not its simple loving words and trust have brought into the stillness of the royal chamber!—

'Stuttgart, May 19, 1848.

'Let me wish you joy and happiness for your birthday. You well know what my love and attachment for you are; therefore my prayers for your happiness are every day the same; but with delight I take advantage of every occasion upon which I can repeat to you, how true and warm my feelings are for you. How could they be otherwise for a sister, such a dear kind sister as you have ever been to me? Thank God, there never came a shade over our affection in sad days, as in happy ones, which we have passed in our lives; and now these hard, trying times will only add, if it is possible, to my gratitude and affection for you; and I feel that your sympathy and kindness is as warm as it ever was for us and our children, which you have shown us more than once lately, and for which we are most deeply grateful.

[2] It is the infant Princess Helena, who appears in the arms of the Queen, in the portrait which forms the frontispiece of the present volume. Lady Lyttelton gives one of her admirable word-pictures of the young Princess in a letter of this period: 'It is cheery to get my frequent peeps at Princess Helen, who is an image of life in its prime; . . . . her cheeks like full-blown roses, and her nose like a bud.'—*Private Correspondence above cited*, p. 398.

'May it be the will of the Almighty that the storms that are raging in Europe pass by your dominions, as they have done until now, without shaking the foundations of the laws and constitution, and without troubling the minds of your faithful subjects, as those of our countrymen are put out of the right way in so lamentable a manner, making it almost impossible for any sensible man to keep to his post!'

An opportunity arose, during this month, for the Prince to take the position before the world, which he afterwards occupied with so much honour, as the advocate of measures for improving the condition of the labouring classes. Four years previously he had testified his interest in the subject,—one that always lay nearest to his heart,—by becoming the President of the Society which had been established with this special object. The Society, in the meanwhile, had been making its way steadily but slowly, for public attention had yet to be awakened to the importance of the subject; and it was considered by Lord Ashley and others of its active promoters, that the appearance of the Prince in the chair at a public meeting to advocate its interests at this time might be attended with excellent results. The Prince, ever ready to show 'his sympathy and interest for that class of our community which has most of the toil, and least of the enjoyments of this world,'[3] at once fell in with their views. But it became a question whether his appearance on the platform of a public meeting, even for so benevolent a purpose, might not provoke some unseemly demonstration on the part of the noisy demagogues, who were then making themselves conspicuous by their tirades against monarchy and the upper classes. The Prince had no apprehensions himself upon the subject. Some members of the Govern-

[3] His own words in his speech at the meeting of the Society, 18th May, 1848.

ment, however, had, and it was only after considerable discussion that these scruples were overcome.[4]

Accordingly, the Prince took the chair at a public meeting on the 18th of May, and made it the occasion for the speech, which first fairly showed to the country what he was. Only now are we beginning to carry out effectively the principles which were there indicated, and the whole speech may still be referred to with advantage by all who take an interest in this not the least important of social questions. Its leading idea was, that although the Society, or individuals acting in its spirit, might establish examples and models in the way of model lodging-houses, loan funds, and land allotments, to show what, and how, practicable improvements might be effected, yet that 'any real improvement must be the result of the exertion of the working people themselves.' The want of what is needful to increase their comfort, to protect their health, to raise themselves in the social scale, must not only be felt, but it must beget the resolution to remove it by the culture, the self-denial, and the energy, which are at the bottom of the success of those in the scale above them, whose prosperity they too often envy, without striving to attain. At the same time, it was the duty of the rich,

[4] When the objection was first raised to the Prince's appearing at this meeting, he wrote to Lord Ashley (23rd April): 'I sincerely regret it, because it will be difficult to find another becoming opportunity for expressing the *sincere interest* which the Queen and myself feel for the welfare and comfort of the working classes.' To Lord John Russell he wrote (29th April): 'The book which you sent me certainly shows great disposition on the part of some mischievous folks to attack the Royal family; but this rather furnishes me with one reason more for attending the meeting, and showing to those who are thus to be misguided, that the Royal family are not merely living upon the earnings of the people (as these publications try to represent) without caring for the poor labourers, but that they are anxious about their welfare, and ready to co-operate in any scheme for the amelioration of their condition. We may possess these feelings, and yet the mass of the people may be ignorant of it, because they have never heard it expressed to them, or seen any tangible proof of it.'

'those who had capital to invest,' to concur in helping those who helped themselves. The latter would reap their reward in their improved domestic comforts, while the capitalists, who helped to raise dwellings of the right kind for the labouring classes, would find that they did so 'with profit and advantage to themselves, at the same time that they are dispensing those domestic comforts to their poorer brethren.'

These ideas, now worn into merest commonplaces, came at that time with all the force of novelty upon the ears of a public always slow to enter upon works of social improvement, until forced into them by the pressure of personal discomfort or of social danger. They had the best effect upon the working classes themselves, who, from that time, felt that they had no truer friend than the Prince. Other passages of the Prince's speech, upon this occasion, were no less striking; none more so than those in which he enforces the truth, the neglect of which is fraught with so much peril to the ultimate interests of the working classes themselves, that disaster must ensue on any attempt to foment an antagonism between labour and capital, or any arbitrary interference between employer and employed:

'Depend upon it,' said the Prince, 'the interests of classes too often contrasted are identical, and it is only ignorance which prevents their uniting for each other's advantage. To dispel that ignorance, to show how man can help man, notwithstanding the complicated state of civilised society, ought to be the aim of every philanthropic person; but it is more peculiarly the duty of those who, under the blessing of Divine Providence, enjoy station, wealth, and education.

'Let them be careful, however, to avoid any dictatorial interference with labour and employment, which frightens away capital, destroys that freedom of thought and independence of action which must remain to every one if he is to work out his own happiness, and impairs that confidence under which alone engagements for mutual benefit are possible.

'God has created man imperfect, and left him with many wants, as it were to stimulate each to individual exertion, and to make all feel that it is only by united exertions and combined action that these imperfections can be supplied, and these wants satisfied. This presupposes self-reliance and confidence in each other. To show the way how these individual exertions can be directed with the greatest benefit, and to foster that confidence upon which the readiness to assist each other depends, this Society deems its most sacred duty.'

These were golden words, and peculiarly well-timed. With what satisfaction they were hailed throughout the country, a letter four days afterwards from the Queen to Baron Stockmar does not exaggerate in saying: 'Meyer' (the Prince's librarian) 'will tell you that the Prince made a speech on Thursday which has met with more general admiration, from all classes and parties, than any speech I remember.'

Writing himself, the same day, to his mental foster-father at Coburg, the Prince says:—

'. . . We are quite well, and Monarchy never stood higher in England than it does at this moment.

'Last Thursday I presided at the great meeting of the Society for improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes. I enclose my speech, which has been a great success.'

CHAPTER XXVI.

The state of affairs in Germany at this time naturally engaged much of the Prince's attention. He had looked to the King of Prussia, as we have seen from the remarkable Memorandum (*ante*, vol. i. pp. 439–446) which he had submitted to the King in September, 1847, to take the lead in a comprehensive measure of reform, which would satisfy the craving for the twofold objects of representative institutions, and of national unity, which the Prince foresaw was rapidly becoming irrepressible. He had then said, that if Prussia declined 'to undertake the guidance of a moderate and systematic German development, the vital forces of the nation, driven onwards by the pressure of the times, will find some irregular vent for themselves, and produce convulsions of all sorts, the final issue of which no power can foresee.' The warning, not the only one addressed by the Prince to his royal correspondent at Berlin, had not been taken, and the crash had come.

The King of Prussia had so long walked in the leading-strings of Metternich, and was so deeply imbued with the spirit of Absolutism, that his sympathies with the Constitutional movement were apt to evaporate in sentimental eloquence. After the fall of Cracow he had entered into a fresh compact with Russia and with Austria, to make common cause against the agitation for reform by which Europe had been for some time so deeply stirred. The Prince had

done his best to inspire him with more liberal views, and to show him that the true interests of Germany were identified with those of England, as the great Protestant constitutional monarchy in Europe. He had also urged upon him, that the days were gone by when Sovereigns could make alliances, without taking into account the feelings of their people; and that any attempt to support Austria in the crusade, which Metternich in 1847 had menaced against the Liberal movement beyond the Austrian territories in Italy, would probably lead to a protracted European war. The following letter from Baron Stockmar to the Prince (11th March, 1848) shows how truly the Prince had prognosticated the probable course of events:—

'In a letter which I have received from Silesia, dated the 2nd March, this passage occurs:—"Shall we strike for Austria, in order to preserve Italy for her? Every one answers this question in the negative, and says, Let Austria help herself as she can, and let her lose Lombardy if she must. This state of feeling is the fruit of the policy which Austria has for years pursued and practised in Germany. We have no sympathy for Austria and still less for Russia. Towards the former we are indifferent, to the latter we have a decided dislike. In addition to this we believe that the alliance of Prussia with Austria and Russia will only help to accelerate a general war. Will France, will England stand patiently by, if Prussia and Russia join in upholding the Austrian system in Italy? The Provisional Government in Paris has already declared that France will not do so. Just because of the danger of a general war, people in Silesia are desirous of another line of policy for Prussia, one independent alike of Vienna and St. Petersburg—in a word, a common understanding and alliance with England. Would not Prussia, Germany, and England be strong enough to com-

mand respect for a well-weighed and grave declaration in support of peace?" &c.

'These words from Prussian Silesia Bunsen ought to take in one hand, and in the other the letter of the Prince in 1846 to the King of Prussia.[1] I cannot now recall the precise terms of that letter, but I think it contains a passage which speaks of the sense of justice as differently developed in different nations, and how probable it is that in the next great European crisis this difference will become prominent, and politically of moment, as Governments which make no account of these differences will no longer be allowed to enter upon alliances at will. If this be so, then is that letter also a prophetic voice, even although it has been lifted up in the wilderness.

'11th March, 1848.'

In his Memorandum of September, 1847, the Prince had expressed a somewhat sanguine view that progress was being rapidly made by the minor Sovereigns in liberalising their local administrations. What had now occurred, however, showed how little this was the case. The people had risen, and either coerced or expelled their rulers; but, having never learned the value of that moderation which grows out of the habit of political freedom, they had either rushed into wild excesses, or sought to reconstitute themselves in accordance with extravagant theories, which could only result

[1] No draft or copy of this letter, on which Stockmar on more than one occasion lays the greatest stress, has been found among the Prince's papers. It was not until 1847, the year after it was written, that the Prince began the system, which he continued till his death, when it was taken up and continued by the Queen, of preserving and classifying in separate volumes copies of all important State papers, all private correspondence, memoranda of important interviews with Ministers, and other documents relative to public affairs, foreign or domestic, so that Her Majesty and himself could at any time with the greatest ease refer to the essential details of any past transaction. These volumes the Prince indexed with his own hand, prefixing a *précis* of the contents to every volume.

in failure and disaster. The Prince had also hoped to beget unity of national purpose and action by restoring vitality to the Diet. But the time for this had passed. With the whole country in convulsion, what hope could be entertained of such a reorganisation of the Diet, as could only have resulted from a calm spirit of mutual sacrifice and concession on the part of both rulers and people in the several States?

The double task which the Germans had set themselves was now to be grappled with by a people, rich in theoretical notions, but with no practical training in political life, and, above all, with no authoritative guide either in monarch or in statesman, to whom they could look with confidence in the toilsome and complicated struggle for individual liberty and national independence. What might have been expected ensued. Project followed upon project, debate upon debate; until, overborne on the one hand by demagogues, whose ends were best served by the continuance of confusion, or thwarted on the other by the jealousy or selfish prejudices of the rival powers, those who had entered on the work of regeneration fullest of hope fell back from it in utter weariness of heart. Their last hope vanished, when after the majority had come round to the view, that the best chance of uniting the thirty-two millions of Germans into one great nation lay in placing the Imperial Crown in the hands of the King of Prussia as the head of a consolidated State, His Majesty rejected the proffered crown, because it was offered to him by the nation, and not by the Princes, whom alone his principles permitted him to regard as the depositaries of power.

In Germany, the great body of the people, it was soon apparent, had no desire to abolish either monarchy or aristocracy; but they were bent on placing both under Constitutional restrictions. On the other hand, there was there, as elsewhere, a strong party whose aim was to establish a system of republics, and who were prepared to effect it by

the most desperate means. The Constitutional, or Old Liberal party in South-Western Germany, had at the outset obtained the upper hand, and they had introduced uniformity and moderation into the demands made by the people on the governments of the individual States. This done, they addressed themselves to the question of National Representation. On the 8th of March fifty-one chief men of the party, including the most distinguished members of the Opposition of the different Chambers of Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and other States, met at Heidelberg. Their resolutions were chiefly confined to abstract propositions of general policy; but one, which was voted to be of imperious necessity, was for the appointment 'of a Representative Assembly chosen by all the German States in proportion to their numbers, as much for the purpose of averting all danger, external or internal, as for developing the energy and prosperity of the country.' With a view to this they appointed seven of their number a committee to draw up the scheme of a general Parliament, and a Preliminary Assembly or *Vor-Parlament* was convoked for the 30th of March at Frankfort to receive their report.

This was the first step towards setting up in opposition to the old Federal Diet, which represented merely dynastic interests, a new popular central power in a parliamentary form.

On the day appointed, the Vor-Parlament met in the Paulus Kirche at Frankfort, and to them all eyes were for the time directed. Their first resolution was one which soon led to hostilities with Denmark, for it dealt with Schleswig, which for two centuries had formed part of the Danish dominions, as though it already formed part of the German Confederacy, and directed the Chamber there to send deputies to the approaching National Assembly.[2] Their next, following

[2] The Diet, who were in full sympathy with the Vor-Parlament in this matter, on the 4th of April directed the King of Prussia to take active

the recommendation of the Committee of Seven, declared that the old Federal Diet should be superseded by a central authority, as the head of an Imperial Diet, to be composed of an Upper and Lower Chamber. A struggle was made by the leaders of the extreme party to carry a vote in favour of a great German republic; and afterwards, having failed in this, to have the sittings of the Vor-Parlament declared permanent.[3] But they were overruled by large majorities, who were much influenced by the fact that the Diet had already conceded the demand for the meeting of a great National Assembly, which was to be convoked for an early date, 'in order to arrange the German Constitution between the governments and the people.' The Diet had also conciliated

measures in their name, to support the party in Schleswig who had thrown off their allegiance to Denmark and transferred it to the German Confederation. Neither Vor-Parlament nor Diet had the material forces at their disposal to bear down resistance to any of their views; and the recourse thus taken to Berlin showed very plainly that in settling the future Constitution of Germany nothing could be done without the concurrence of Prussia, as the greatest military power in Germany. Prussia answered promptly to the appeal. Its army were eager for action, and something had to be done to compensste them for the wound to their feelings inflicted by the conduct of the King after their efforts in his defence on the 19th of March. For him, too, a campaign in the Duchies, popular as it was through all Germany, was the best card he could play to restore the prestige which he had lost by his ill-advised concessions.

[3] The Republican party, under the leadership of two mushroom notabilities, Hecker and Struve, immediately afterwards tried to rouse the Germans of the South and West in support of their views. Riots took place in Stuttgart, Bamberg, Cassel, and Mannheim. The chief strength of the party was in the Duchy of Baden, where the troops had become infected with republican ideas. But the troops of the other adjoining States stood firm. The republican free-corps, ill-disciplined and badly led, were soon defeated, and by the end of April order was restored. 'The miserable cowardly behaviour of the free-corps,' says Wolfgang Menzel, 'who were only good for making rows, for shouting, swilling, and pillaging, but who would not fight, made the Republic from the outset at once impossible and ridiculous.'—*Geschichte der Letzten Vierzig Jahre* (1816–56), ii. 214. After Hecker and Struve had been disposed of, a body of French Republicans, from 800 to 1,000 strong, crossed the Rhine, but were ignominiously routed by half a company of Würtembergers. Herwegh, their leader, escaped, hidden behind the leathern apron of a gig, driven by his wife.

the popular party by determining that the several States should be represented at their deliberations, each by a separate deputy. The further proceedings of the Vor-Parlament were confined to settling the rights and forms which were to regulate the elections for the coming Assembly, after which they broke up, leaving at Frankfort a permanent committee of fifty to act until the 18th of May, on which day the National Assembly was to meet.

The Prince, to whom the problem now to be solved was of the deepest interest, embodied his solution of it in a plan for the reconstruction of Germany, which he completed by the 28th of March, and despatched to the Courts of Austria, Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria. It assumed that Austria was to form part of the Consolidated Empire, at the head of which there should be an Emperor, either elected for life or for a term of years, who should wield the control, leaving to the various States their own independent action, except in matters purely imperial.[4] To Baron Stockmar he sent a copy, with the following letter:

'Dear Stockmar—To-day I send you a plan for the new Germany, as I picture it to myself. It is the duty of every German to contribute his quota, that something good may come out of the discussion. I do not like the Heidelberg project at all, neither do I like Mohl's. If you think well of mine, pray adopt it, and endeavour to find an opening for it. Something must be *done*, and that quickly, otherwise down will fall the fabric, whose foundations have already been seriously shaken.

[4] The Prince's plan is said, by Baron Stockmar's biographer, to have been published, together with the remarks of the King of Prussia upon it, at Stuttgart in 1867, in a pamphlet entitled 'The German Question Explained' (*Zum Verständniss der Deutschen Frage*). We have not, however, succeeded in obtaining a copy of the pamphlet. But as the documents themselves are before us, we have stated all that is necessary in the text.

'I have sent my plan to Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, and Munich.

'I have never been so sorely pressed as now; events, business, feelings, thoughts, bow me almost to the earth.

'We cannot let the Prince of Prussia come now. He has made enemies, because he is dreaded; but he is noble and honourable, and wholly devoted to the new movement for Germany. He looks at the business with the frank integrity of the soldier, and will stand gallantly by the post which has been entrusted to him.[5]

'Buckingham Palace, 30th March, 1848.'

At this time Baron Stockmar was being strongly urged to accept the appointment of Deputy for Coburg at the Diet, where he ultimately took his seat on the 16th of May. Neither himself nor his friends could have expected much from the Diet, which was practically superseded for the time; but they had, as expressed by the Coburg Minister, Von Stein,

[5] The Prince of Prussia was then in London, having arrived there on the 27th of March, and taken up his residence in the house of the Prussian Ambassador, the Chevalier Bunsen. Among several interesting notices of him at this time, which are to be found in *Bunsen's Memoirs* (vol. ii. p. 170 *et seq.*) is the following breakfast scene from Madame Bunsen's hand.—'F. had fetched an arm-chair and placed it in the centre of one side of the table; but the Prince put it away himself and took another, saying, 'One ought to be humble now, for thrones are shaking;' then I sat on one side of him, and he desired Frances to take her place on the other. He related everything that came to his knowledge of the late awful transactions; and, let reports be what they may, I cannot believe that he has had any share in occasioning the carnage that has taken place—but conclude that the general opinion condemning him has been the result of party spirit and of long settled notions, as to what was likely to be his advice and opinion.' The Prince of Prussia remained in England till nearly the end of May, when he returned to Berlin. 'He was very sad at going,' the Queen writes to King Leopold (30th May). 'May God protect him, he is very noble-minded and honest, and most cruelly wronged. He seemed to have great confidence in Albert, who cheered him, and gave him always the best advice.' To Madame Bunsen he said on parting, 'In no other place or country could he have passed so well the period of distress and anxiety which he had gone through as here, having so much to interest and occupy his mind both in the country and in the nation.'—(*Bunsen's Memoirs*, ii. 182.)

in writing to him on the 3rd of May (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 488), 'the fullest reliance on his influence and co-operation within and without the Assembly,' which was then sitting at Frankfort. His decision was still wavering when the following letter from the Prince (11th April) reached him:

'. . . You are very kind to speak so kindly of me. You cannot imagine how my fingers itch at being separated perforce from Germany at this moment. I hope, although you should not be able to go to Frankfort yourself, that you will at least furnish Briegleb and Spessart' (the representatives sent by Coburg and Gotha to the Assembly) 'with your good advice.

'I am curious to hear what you will say to my project. The King of Prussia, in writing to me, called it "ideally good." He wishes some alterations which are of no moment, but which seem to my mind to destroy the harmony of the plan. That the Emperor should be named for life is certainly better than for a term of years. But a Roman Emperor and a King of the Germans, however historically beautiful, are things to which the Germans will never take.'[6]

It was some time before Baron Stockmar replied to this letter. He had drawn up a project of his own for the reconstruction of Germany, based upon a principle radically different from that of the Prince. *His* Emperor was not to be elective, but hereditary. Austria, which had separate interests of its own, and a vast territory which was not German, should be invited to join the Empire with its German States; but Prussia was to be regarded as the Central Power, and from Prussia the Emperor was to be taken. Under his

[6] The allusion here is to what the King of Prussia, in his letter to the Prince, had declared to be, in his view, the thing to be aimed at, viz. the restoration of the Roman Imperial crown upon the head of the Austrian Hereditary Emperor, with an elective Emperor for Germany, who, if not the Emperor of Austria, should be subject to be confirmed by him.

scheme, too, the ultimate mediatising of the smaller States was contemplated, and in the meantime their sovereigns would have, for the sake of the common weal of the Empire, to submit to material restrictions. 'Whether or no this plan can be carried out,' he wrote on the 24th of May (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 491), 'depends on whether the nation is or is not in earnest in desiring unity. It may be that the Governments at Vienna, Hanover, Munich, and elsewhere, do not desire a real unity, or any material limitation of their own sovereignty by a strong Central Power; but in these days this is of far less moment than what their subjects wish.' Even from this document, however, it may be gathered that the Baron had grave misgivings that the nation was not yet of one mind on the subject, for a little further on he recurs to the idea. 'Everything depends on whether the heart and soul of Germany are so thoroughly set upon having a Fatherland in fact, and not merely in words, as to turn a deaf ear to the temptations which separatist tendencies will hold out to it on many sides.' In writing to the Prince a few days later (29th May) he lets his reasons for these misgivings be very clearly seen:

'The difficulties in the way of the establishment of a united Germany are immense. They are at the same time full of the strangest complications. No people that I know of in history has ever had a period in its destiny at all like ours. To seek and to find the necessary points of union, without which we shall cease to be a nation, is at once most important and most difficult. According to my conviction, our salvation at this moment lies in centralisation of our intellectual and material resources. Opposed to this view are the ideas of our pedants, which ideas will be turned to profit and account by everything which in Germany is *malâ fide*, namely, by Fanaticism, by Dynasticism, Bureaucracy, Anarchism, Re-

publicanism, and political stupidity. Our only schoolmaster, therefore, will be the wrath of heaven.

'I was unable to regard as practicable the views recently communicated to me by your Royal Highness. Against the plan of a closer unity in the Saxon family I have in itself nothing to urge, except that an example of this kind, set by princes, might be accepted by the democrats in a different sense, and be carried beyond the limits which your Royal Highness assigns to it; for the notion that in accordance with such a plan all Saxony at least has to become united lies so near that it is sure to suggest itself.

'My own plan, which I have for forty years carried in my own bosom, has been formulated for some time. I have a notion of getting it printed in the *Deutsche Zeitung*. It is the only one of all the plans that have come under my eye which admits of adhering to what actually exists, and sparing it in a statesmanlike way as far as possible. . . .

'In belonging to the Diet, I am the fifth wheel to the carriage. As a private individual and mere volunteer I should perhaps have been able to accomplish more. The National Assembly is at present merely devising a Constitution. The pressure of actual events will soon make it also assume executive authority.'

Stockmar was naturally and justly impatient at his position in the Diet, where he had not even a vote. That body, by sanctioning the National Assembly, now proclaimed its own unfitness to meet the exigencies of the hour. At its best it had been since 1815, in his opinion, 'a wretched machine, despicable and despised,' which the governments had one and all used as the 'instrument of a policy false and dishonourable in itself, and ruinous at once to princes and people.' Its very constitution made 'national activity and energetic consistent measures impossible. To belong to such a body is in

itself misery' (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 505). Neither there nor among the mass of the National Assembly was his trenchant and far-sighted scheme likely to find much favour. His experiences at Frankfort, indeed, satisfied him that the hour for realising his hopes of a United Germany had not yet come. 'If my two months' seat in the Diet was good for nothing else, it at least convinced me that among all its members there existed nothing but mistrust, hatred, envy, backbiting, and malignity.'

By the time he wrote this sentence he had also satisfied himself that the man was yet to arise to whom Germany must look as its future Emperor. He had gone to Berlin in the beginning of June to see the King, to whom he had previously sent an outline of his plan for the reconstruction of Germany. What then passed appears to have convinced him that Frederick William could not be depended upon. The work which Stockmar would have him to do demanded qualities which the King did not possess.[7] The consequence was, as Stockmar's biographer writes (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 509), 'that although he assisted from a distance the attempts made by others during 1848, yet he was never himself deceived as to the results. It was his way to form rapid conclusions on points of character.' One person alone he seems to have found in Berlin of whom he could speak with unqualified praise—the present Empress of Germany. 'The Princess of Prussia is sound at heart and clear in head, decided and devoted, the one person who thoroughly understands the extraordinary and peculiar character of our times' (*ibid.* p. 516). Berlin itself he found in a state of anarchy, which he had the courage to tell the King it was his first duty to put down. The means

[7] The King was himself conscious of this. In 1849 he said to Beckerath, 'Frederick the Great would have been the man for you: I am not a great ruler' (*Friedrich der Grosse wäre Ihr Mann gewesen: ich bin kein grosser Regent*). A man of the type of Washington would probably have been still better.

were in his hands for doing so, but he could not be brought to use them. This was clearly not the man to play the leading part in Stockmar's scheme.

What happened soon afterwards at Frankfort could therefore scarcely have surprised him. The settlement of a new Constitution for Germany made but slow progress there; but it was felt that in the meantime it was necessary the Assembly should create some central executive power, to administer such affairs as affected the nation generally. This power the Assembly on the 28th of June decreed should be confided to a Vicar of the Empire (*Reichsverweser*), who was to act with a Ministry responsible to the Assembly, until the Constitution should be completed. The power of the Reichsverweser was virtually imperial; but to be operative, it implied the concurrence of all the sovereigns, and that they should place their military forces at his disposal, for which important details no arrangements had been made. Next day one of the Prussian Deputies moved that the imperial power should be vested in the Royal House of Prussia; but the motion was overruled amid general laughter, and the Archduke John, uncle of the then reigning Emperor of Austria, was elected Reichsverweser by a large majority.

The power thus created was a mere phantom. It had no material resources at its back. These were in the hands of Prussia, whom the Assembly had offended deeply by its proceedings, and of the other Sovereigns, whom no attempt had been made to conciliate. They were not, however, at the moment ripe for open opposition. At all events, no sooner was the Archduke chosen than the Diet voted an address to him, in which they stated that its plenipotentiaries, even before the choice of the Assembly was declared, had been instructed by their respective Governments to declare in favour of the election of his Imperial Highness. This choice Stockmar, with his usual sagacity, saw would in the end work

for the good of Prussia. 'I have a notion,' he wrote on the 27th of June (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 588), 'that this very election of an Austrian Prince will, from its specific character, be rather an advantage to Prussia. It cannot fail to show more clearly than ever by its results how impossible it is to place Austria at the head of Germany.'

On the 12th of July the Archduke John was installed at Frankfort with great solemnity as Vicar of the Empire. The Diet sent a deputation to invite him to appear among them, 'in order that they might place in his hands the functional discharge of the constitutional rights and duties which had belonged to the Diet, and which were now in the name of the German Governments to be transferred to the Provisional Central Power,' and they coupled this invitation with their assurance, as the organ of these Governments, 'that they would cheerfully tender to the Central Power their co-operation whenever by so doing they could found and strengthen the power of Germany at home or abroad.' The invitation was accepted; the Diet with due state pronounced its own dissolution; and a fresh chapter in the troubled volume of German history began.

CHAPTER XXVII.

In a letter to Prince Albert (19th June, 1849) Lord John Russell states, on the authority of Lord Palmerston, that during the year 1848 no less than 28,000 Despatches were received or sent out at the Foreign Office. 'These 28,000 Despatches in the year,' the Prince says, in his reply, 'Lord Palmerston must recollect, come to you and to the Queen, as well as to himself.'

This fact brings strikingly into view the enormous pressure of work and of anxiety which the condition of Europe at this time brought not only upon the chiefs of the Executive, but also upon the Head of the State. The events which were passing in every part of the European Continent—Holland and Belgium alone perhaps excepted—required to be watched with the closest attention. At any moment circumstances might arise to involve this country in serious complications. While England could not stand aloof in cold indifference from what was passing around, it was above all important that she should maintain an attitude of complete neutrality in the conflicts which were everywhere going on between governments and people, so as to afford no cause for irritation on either side, and at the same time preserve her influence unimpaired, should the opportunity arise for successful mediation, or appeal be made to us at any time with this view.

However we might as a nation desire to see other nations as free in their institutions and fortunate in their government as ourselves, it could only be from within—by the fitness of

these nations for them, and by their own determined perseverance to obtain them—that these blessings could be secured. The existence of these conditions had yet to be proved, and in the meantime sound policy demanded that nothing should be done by us to offend or alienate the existing Governments, who, if they should succeed in subduing the revolutionary forces which were now arrayed against them, would not be likely to forget that we had borne hard upon them in their hour of trouble. The necessity for this line of policy—a deviation from which might have left us without allies among the Sovereigns of Europe—was constantly present to the minds of the Queen and Prince. Every communication on foreign affairs, every phase of the almost daily changes in the current of events, therefore, engaged their most earnest attention. The discharge of this anxious duty was made still more anxious by the fact, that Lord Palmerston, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was somewhat prone to forget in his enthusiasm for constitutional freedom that, as England was not prepared to wrest it for other countries from their Sovereigns by force of arms, despatches full of unpleasant truths unpleasantly put could only occasion sore and angry feelings towards this country, without advancing in any degree the cause which they were intended to serve.

Attention was publicly drawn in Parliament during May and June of this year to the mischievous consequences likely to arise from the business of the Foreign Office being conducted in this spirit by what had recently occurred in Madrid. On the 16th of March Lord Palmerston had written a letter to Sir Henry Bulwer, our representative there, in which he recommended Sir Henry to advise the Spanish Government to adopt a legal and constitutional system. He then went on to refer to the recent expulsion of Louis Philippe and his Ministers from France as a proof that 'even a numerous and well-disciplined army offers only

an insufficient defence to the Crown, when the system followed by it is not in harmony with the general system of the country.' The letter concluded in these words: 'The Queen of Spain would act wisely in the present critical state of affairs if she was to strengthen her executive government by widening the bases on which the administration reposes, and in calling to her councils some of the men in whom the Liberal party reposes confidence.' A copy of this letter was communicated by Sir H. Bulwer to the Duke de Sotomayor, then the head of the Spanish Ministry. As might have been expected, it gave an opening for a reply from the Duke, which left him master of the field. The observations of Lord Palmerston were rejected 'as offensive to the dignity of a free and independent nation,' and the despatches themselves were returned. Further correspondence ensued, and on the 19th of May Sir Henry Bulwer received his passports, accompanied by a peremptory order to quit the kingdom within forty-eight hours.

These incidents created no small astonishment in this country, not unmixed with indignation. In the debate upon the subject, which took place in the House of Lords, Lord Aberdeen said, 'that a despatch of a British Secretary of State should be returned by the Minister of a Foreign Government as unfit to be retained or received, appears to me to be a thing quite unexampled. I never could have supposed that such a thing was possible. Not only in my experience have I never heard of such a thing, but I will venture to say this is the first time a British Minister ever suffered such an indignity.' The subject came under discussion in the House of Commons on the 5th of June, upon a motion of Mr. George Bankes, the terms of which would have committed the House to the admission that the action of Lord Palmerston and Sir H. Bulwer had 'placed the British Government and our representative at the Court of Madrid in a position humiliating in its cha-

racter.' But however ill-judged the tone of the communication to the Spanish Government was thought to have been, the House was in no mood to affirm that England had been humiliated by the violent action of the Spanish Ministry in breaking off diplomatic relations with a country to which it owed so much. At the same time the feeling was general in condemnation of Lord Palmerston's despatch, and Sir Robert Peel gave it expression when he said, 'I do not object to his lordship's giving advice to the Spanish Government, but to his mode of giving it. There was an assumption of superiority in his despatch, which was calculated to give offence to a proud nation like that of Spain.' It was impossible not to remember, however, that if the Spanish Government had been as able to strike as it was willing to do so, this unlucky mode of giving advice might have resulted in most serious consequences.

Spain was, however, powerless in herself; and the various Powers, whose support she might under other circumstances have invoked, had too much to do within their own territories to think of anything else.

So far the Sicilian revolt had been successful. On the 13th of April the Chambers had somewhat prematurely, as it ultimately proved, declared 'Ferdinand and his dynasty for ever fallen from the throne of Sicily.' English intervention had been for some time actively employed in trying to arrange terms between the King of Naples and his revolted subjects, on the footing of conceding to them a separate constitution, with a son of the King as its head. This the Sicilians would have accepted. The King of Naples, however, declined to come into the arrangement, upon which the resolution was come to which declared their allegiance at an end. The Sicilians had a predilection for a monarchical form of government. Their Chambers accordingly passed a formal resolution for its adoption, and subsequently, on the 11th of July, resolved to

tender the Crown to the Duke of Genoa, the second son of the King of Sardinia, by the title of Alberto Amedeo I., King of Sicily. But the Duke, who had by this time had experience, in the campaign in Northern Italy, of the difficulties in which Piedmont had involved herself by her assault upon Austria, was not disposed to engage his native country in a war with the King of the Two Sicilies also. As this must certainly follow on his acceptance of the offer, he prudently declined it, much to the discomfiture of the Sicilians, who had been looking forward to the Piedmontese alliance to support them in the coming struggle with the Neapolitan forces.

Meanwhile the revolutionary party in Naples had pushed matters to extremity, and been signally defeated. On the 15th of May they had thrown up barricades in the Toledo, and provoked an encounter by firing upon the King's Swiss Guards, who answered the attack by advancing steadily upon them, storming barricade after barricade, and driving their opponents from house to house and street to street. The conflict lasted for upwards of eight hours, and after a struggle, in which many thousands fell, the National Guard and the revolutionists who fought with them were completely overpowered. The lazzaroni, if they did not actually fight on the side of the King's troops, at least joined them in pillaging the houses which had been stormed. Whilst the conflict was still raging, but after its issue had ceased to be doubtful, Admiral Baudin, who was in command of a French squadron in the bay, endeavoured to arrest its farther progress by an appeal to the King to suspend hostilities, and to negotiate terms with the rebellious Deputies with whom they had originated. The reply, as might have been expected, was, that His Majesty's only desire was that peace might be restored in a manner as merciful as circumstances allowed. Immediately afterwards the last position of the insurgents was stormed. The Liberal party had now occasion

to rue bitterly their headstrong folly in forcing an appeal to arms. In one day all was lost which they had won for the cause of constitutional liberty, and which common prudence and a little moderation might have made permanently secure. The King was now wholly master of the situation. Martial law was proclaimed, the National Guard suppressed, and the Chamber of Deputies dissolved. A further term of misrule throughout the Southern Peninsula began, and the King's troops were set free to operate in Sicily, and to reduce its long-suffering people once more into subjection.[1]

The counter-revolution in Naples had a material effect upon the campaign in Northern Italy. Neapolitan troops, to the number of 20,000, had been sent there, while the Neapolitan Government was in the hands of the Liberal party, and were posted on the Lower Po, to co-operate with the Papal troops against the Austrians. But the King of Naples no sooner found himself free from democratic control than orders were issued for the return of his troops. Some, under General Pepe, refused to obey; but they were a mere handful, consisting for the most part of Italian volunteers. The mass of the troops, who were chiefly Germans and Swiss, answered to the royal mandate; and thus the league of Italian independence all at once found itself crippled by the defection of this formidable force of experienced soldiers at the very time when their support would have been most vital.

Hitherto success had attended the arms of the King of Sardinia. He had gained several victories over the Austrians, and forced them to abandon the line of the Mincio and to

[1] The effect was soon visible in the fall of Messina, on the 7th of September, before a bombardment which laid the city in ruins, and in the total rout of the insurgents, under a defeat which the ferocity of the Neapolitan troops turned into a massacre. After months spent in fruitless endeavours by England and France to negotiate terms between the King of the Two Sicilies and the insurgents, hostilities were renewed in the end of March, 1848. The insurgents were severely defeated at Catania, and after a brief but ineffectual resistance, Palermo was given up to the royalist forces on the 15th of May.

retire behind the Adige. On the 29th of May the Austrian forces under Radetzky himself received a severe check at Goito, and on the 31st they found themselves compelled to surrender the important fortress of Peschiera to the Piedmontese.

At this moment the prospects of Austria in Italy were to all appearance gloomy in the extreme, and the hopes of the National party throughout the Peninsula and of their supporters elsewhere were raised to the highest pitch. Austria would willingly have parted with Lombardy on equitable terms, and offered to do so. Fired, however, by their dream of a kingdom of Northern Italy, the leaders of the Italian movement, and those who sympathised with them, declined to negotiate on any basis but the absolute withdrawal of Austria beyond the Alps. She had, therefore, no alternative but to seek to maintain her position by force of arms. Her German subjects were warm in their hostility to the Italian movement, and answered her appeal for support with enthusiasm. Crippled, therefore, though she was by revolutionary violence at Vienna and in her Sclavonian and Hungarian provinces, she was able to send large reinforcements to the relief of Radetzky. While he, too, was gathering together his forces and strengthening his positions with sleepless energy, the resolution of his adversaries was being gradually sapped by internal distrust; and those who had invoked the aid of the King of Sardinia were more active in celebrating his victories by noisy festivities than in furnishing men and materials to fight out the desperate struggle which the veteran Radetzky was preparing for him.

Meanwhile Prussia had reaped in blood the first-fruits of the concessions which had been so inconsiderately made in Berlin to democratic violence. Early in April the Poles in Posen rose in revolt, and fell upon their German fellow-subjects with a savage fury which spared neither age nor sex, and

vented itself in every species of cruelty and brutal outrage. The customary horrors of war were aggravated by whatever the fiercest passions could suggest. Maddened by the conduct of the insurgents, the Germans retaliated in a similar spirit, and the contest on both sides was marked by circumstances of atrocity for which parallels might only be found in the most ruthless wars of bygone centuries. Mieroslawski, so lately the idol of the Berlin processionists, appeared on the scene at the head of the Polish insurgents, and soon drew together a formidable army. But the atrocities of his countrymen had roused a spirit in their opponents which would have borne down ten times their numbers; and the generals, by whom the Prussian troops were handled, soon showed that they were determined to make speedy and thorough work with Mieroslawski and his followers. After successive defeats, the forces under his immediate command were compelled to surrender unconditionally on the 7th of May. A few days afterwards the only remaining section of the insurgents met with a similar fate. The rebellion was crushed, but the atrocities of the Polish democrats were not forgotten, and helped to bring about the reaction against the extreme democratic party which was now beginning to set in throughout Germany.

While these events were passing in the South and East of Europe, the crisis was rapidly approaching in Paris, which the extravagances of political theorists and the unbridled passions of the populace had been steadily preparing. Socialism was for the time in the ascendant. In a speech at the Luxembourg to a deputation of workmen, M. Louis Blanc had told them that by embracing its principles 'they would all become kings.' He and his friends had now the opportunity of putting these principles into practice. Accordingly, by a decree they fixed the hours of labour at ten hours a day for Paris, but left them at twelve for the provinces.

But the hours of labour mattered but little, when by their own act they had annihilated work itself; driving capital out of the country, and emptying the manufactories and workshops alike of orders and of men. At the *Ateliers Nationaux* the hosts of idlers, who came thronging in from all sides, put their own construction on the kingship which had been promised to them. They had been assured by M. Louis Blanc, in the name of the State, that they should, during the present crisis, 'receive the wages which belong to periods of prosperity, with a share in the profits; and for the future the free exercise of their powers, the free satisfaction of their desires, in fine, the maximum of happiness.'[2] With such inducements it was no wonder that the men who enrolled themselves at the *Ateliers Nationaux* rose rapidly to the number of no less than 118,000, who were maintained at a daily cost of upwards of 250,000 francs. It was of course impossible for Government to find employment for such enormous numbers; and during the latter days of the existence of the so-called workshops, there were not 2,000 men actually at work out of the 110,000 who then stood upon the public rolls.

Englishmen trained in the principles of political economy looked on at this spectacle with astonishment, but with little doubt as to how it must end. It was well perhaps that the theories of Socialism should be put once for all to a practical test, as this would probably furnish the surest exposure of the fallacies on which they were based. This was no doubt strongly present to the mind of Sir Robert Peel, when, in speaking on the 18th of April on the Government Bill for the more effectual suppression of seditious and treasonable proceedings, he referred to the fallacies of Socialism with an earnestness that rose to eloquence, inspired as it was by the

[2] These were the words of M. Louis Blanc (*Conférence de 29me Avril.* 1848) as quoted in the *Moniteur* at the time.

interest in the well-being of the sons of labour, which it is now well known was with him a passion:

'I believe it to be essential,' he said, 'to the peace of the world and to the stability of Government that the experiment now making in France shall have a fair trial, without being embarrassed or disturbed by extrinsic intervention. But at the same time, with respect to social principles, I must say this, that I hope the working classes of this country will not be deluded by the doctrines which are held upon that subject which intimately concerns their labour and the wages of labour. If the doctrines that are there maintained be true—if there be indeed an antagonism between capital and labour—if it be true that all men, without reference to their different capabilities, different strength, and different qualifications, are to have some iron formula applied to them, and are all to receive the same daily wages—if these things be true, then all the experience and all the lights of the last hundred and fifty years have existed in vain. Let us burn the works of Turgot, and Say, and Adam Smith. Let us establish in triumph the doctrines of the Mississippi scheme, and the principles of that Law who was supposed to have involved France in misery and confusion. Let us wait for the results of this experiment. Let us calmly contemplate whether it is possible that executive governments can be great manufacturers, whether it be possible for them to force capital to employ industry—whether they can contravene the decrees of Providence, and reduce all men, without reference to habits or strength, to receive the same wages. For God's sake, give that social principle the same fair trial as you are about to see given to the political principle. But I do earnestly trust—I have that confidence in the good sense of the working classes of this country—that they will believe that no false delusion of the compulsory sharing of profits, no enmity directed against capital, no extinction of competition among individuals, no overpowering of private enterprise by Government undertakings at the public expense, can possibly be for the benefit of the working classes, or have any other ultimate result than involving them in misery and ruin.'

The prediction proved true. Under the management of a

government, of whom Socialists formed a large proportion, the finances of France were rapidly falling into a condition which made bankruptcy imminent. Forty-five per cent. had been added to the direct taxes, loans had been raised, and extraordinary credits opened to enormous amounts. Still the deficit continued to grow, and the drain created by the *Ateliers Nationaux* showed no signs of abating. The burden had become intolerable, and when the Assembly met in May, the large proportion of moderate and experienced men who had been returned, showed that the people of France were bent on throwing off the tyranny of unpractical theorists, which was rapidly hurrying France to destruction. What the *Ateliers Nationaux* had done for the workmen themselves Victor Hugo declared in very emphatic language on the 10th of June in the Assembly, to which he had been returned as a member. Starting with the admission that they were necessary when first established—a concession which it might have been hard to justify—he proceeded: 'It is now high time to remedy an evil of which the least inconvenience is to squander uselessly the resources of the Republic. What have they produced in the course of four months? Nothing. They have deprived the hardy sons of toil of employment, given them a distaste for labour, and demoralised them to such a degree that they are no longer ashamed to beg on the streets. The Monarchy has its idlers, the Republic has its vagabonds. God forbid that the enemies of the country should succeed in converting the Parisian workmen, formerly so virtuous, into lazzaroni or Prætorians!'

But the mischief was done. The men were demoralised, and they were in no mind to forego the advantages to which their leaders had told them they were entitled as of right. Force alone, it had now become plain, must decide whether rational principles of government were to be restored, or

France was to be delivered, no one might say how soon, to the tender mercies of a Red Republic.

Such was the posture of affairs in Europe when the Prince wrote to his stepmother the following letter, which, brief as it is, is most suggestive of the days and nights of anxiety which the crowded events of every day brought into the palace:

'I must tear myself for a moment from the whirl of business, of emotions, fatigues, &c., to thank you for a long, dear letter. I never remember to have been kept in the stocks to the same extent as I am just now. The mere reading of the English, French and German papers absorbs nearly all the spare hours of the day; and yet one can let nothing pass without losing the connection and coming in consequence to wrong conclusions.

'The welfare of Germany manifestly lies at this moment in the hands of Dr. Cucumus, Dr. Eisenstück, Messieurs Schlüssel and Grüneisen, Dr. Sonnenkalb, Professor Viehoff, and other equally trust-inspiring names in Frankfort. Berlin seems to be in a pitiable condition, and Vienna in utter chaos. At the outset there was a noble impulse in the German movement, but it has developed into an odious sickness, which will wear out the German body, unless speedy remedies be applied.

'In Italy much blood is being shed; the Austrians let themselves be beaten as they always do, and when the war is at an end, then the internal disruption will begin.

'France is on the eve of bankruptcy, and of a Parisian massacre.

'Belgium and England stand up to the present time unshaken, and furnish useful standards of what constitutes real freedom. Yet even here we have to deal with a mass of artisans suffering hunger and privation through the complete

stagnation of trade. There have been conflicts every night last week between Chartists and the police. The latter, thank God! have kept the upper hand without putting the military in requisition; still, one night, they had to break with their truncheons the heads of between three and four hundred people.

'We go to Osborne for a week, as on account of the deep mourning we can be of no use to society. Yesterday I attended the funeral of poor Princess Sophia.[3]

'The children are all well, and little Louise thrives visibly.

'Buckingham Palace, 7th June, 1848.'

Untaught by what had already occurred, the Chartists continued to make themselves obnoxious by disturbing the peace of the metropolis by mob meetings, and by hatching miserable conspiracies in secret, of all which the Government was kept well informed. On the 3rd and 4th of May they had given the police considerable trouble, and the nuisance created by their proceedings had become so intolerable, that the public heard with satisfaction, two days afterwards, that five of the most conspicuous Chartist leaders, Ernest Jones, Fussell, Williams, Sharpe, and Vernon, had been arrested on a charge of sedition, and committed for trial.[4] On this a great Chartist demonstration in the metropolis was announced for the 12th, but the measures taken by the Government to suppress it were so complete, that the courage of its projectors failed them, and the menaced display ended, to use the words of next day's *Times*, 'not in smoke, but in ruin. There is absolutely nothing to record,' the writer went

[3] Youngest daughter of George III. She died at Kensington Palace, aged 71, on the 27th of May.

[4] They were tried at the Old Bailey early in July, convicted, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment for sedition, with shorter terms for unlawful assembling, besides being bound in securities to keep the peace for five years.

on to say, 'nothing except the blankest expectation, the most miserable gaping, gossiping, and grumbling of disappointed listeners, the standing about, the roaming to and fro, the dispersing, and the sneaking home of poor simpletons who had wandered forth in the hope of some miraculous crisis in their affairs.'

It was impossible not to contrast this peaceable conclusion to designs, which, but for the energetic action of the Government, might have resulted in a great public calamity, with the terrible scenes which were enacted a few days afterwards in the streets of Paris. On the 22nd of June the Provisional Government there found itself face to face with the population, whom they had been feeding for months, demanding, in arms, an organisation of labour which should secure to them in permanence the privileges promised to them in the early days of the revolution. By the 23rd the whole north and east of Paris was covered with barricades, some of them of enormous strength. 'Do not deceive yourselves,' said M. Lamartine, addressing the other members of the Provisional Government: 'we do not advance to a strife with an *émeute*, but to a pitched battle with a confederacy of great factions. If the Republic, and with it society, is to be saved, it must have arms in its hands during the first years of its existence, and its forces should be disposed not only here, but over the whole surface of the empire, as for great wars which embrace not only the quarters of Paris, but the provinces.' To this pass had things been brought by the theories of MM. Proudhon, Blanc, Ledru Rollin, and others of their creed.

The events that followed furnish a terrible commentary on M. Lamartine's words. Three days of desperate street-fighting deluged the capital with blood, and desecrated it by atrocities before which humanity shudders! Every inch of ground was fought for; and struggles in which there could

be no glory—*bella nullos habitura triumphos*—were protracted with a tenacity of valour which on a nobler field would have commanded the highest admiration. General Cavaignac, who had been proclaimed Dictator, showed by his masterly arrangements that the saving of Paris and of France could not have fallen into better hands. The officers and soldiers under him did their miserable work thoroughly. But their victory was dearly purchased. In achieving it France had lost many of her ablest generals, while more of her soldiers had fallen by the hands of their countrymen than on some of the battle-fields of the Empire of which she was most proud. The extent of the losses on the side of the insurgents has never been ascertained. They were counted, however, by many thousands of slain. No fewer than fifteen thousand prisoners were left in the hands of the Government. Of these many were shot, while of those who were spared three thousand subsequently died of jail fever, brought on by overcrowding of the prisons.

The 'Parisian massacre' which the Prince had anticipated in his letter of the 7th of June had indeed come,—and come in a form more appalling than any imagination could have conceived possible. It will be seen from a passage in the following letter to Baron Stockmar, how deeply he felt for those who had been led to destruction by trust in the mischievous doctrines of their leaders:

'. . . German affairs seem to me to have reached a turning point, at which things may possibly mend. If the Archduke John accepts, then unity is secured, and, I hope, monarchy as well. . . . Diplomacy here is somewhat disconcerted about the business, and Dietrichsen said to Bunsen, "I guess this is to be merely the John who is to prepare the way for your Messias."

'The truce with Denmark is another fortunate incident,

which sets free a portion of the Prussian army, while it diminishes the prospect of a general war. This seems daily to become more and more unlikely. In Germany people take pains to suspect the views of Russia, and are every moment surmising an inroad of the Russian army; but this has not a shadow of foundation. I believe that the Emperor has prescribed to himself a very moderate and prudent part. Naturally it is his *duty* to seem *strong and prepared for action*, otherwise he would very soon be attacked; and the declarations of the German democrats, that Poland must be reinstated in its nationality, completely justify the Emperor in concentrating his troops on the frontier. That he should disapprove the line taken by the King of Prussia is very natural and intelligible; but for all that I do not believe that he cherishes hostile intentions towards Prussia.

'In Italy, too, Radetzky has won territory and importance; and, if we were not so absurdly Carlo-Albertoish, we might be able to negotiate a peace upon the basis of surrendering Milan to Sardinia, and leaving Venice with Austria. This would then also set free the Austrian army.

'In the long run it is the troops who must be the instruments for restoring peace and order in Germany also.

'In Paris there has been a bloody conflict, and I should like to learn something of the impression which this has made in Germany. As monkey-like imitation of the French is unhappily a leading characteristic of the Teutomania-inflated heroes of the new epoch, military constraint should also be introduced, and the workmen's combinations be scattered to the winds. What misery have not Louis Blanc, Albert, Flocon, Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, Crémieux, &c. &c. brought upon their country! I cannot blame the *ouvriers* for turning round in anger when the *Ateliers Nationaux* were closed; for the *droit au travail* and the *organisation*

du travail had been promised to them by the Government, and the Republic plumed itself on having introduced a new era for *le peuple ouvrier*. The result to the poor people has been disastrous.

'I am collecting most interesting papers about all this, which I shall be delighted to communicate to you when you come.

'Here everything goes on to a wish. The Government is weak, but it manages to get along, and the public is loyal and patriotic. . . .

'Buckingham Palace, 9th July, 1848.'

Before quoting Baron Stockmar's reply, some explanation of the allusions in this letter to Denmark and to Italy may not be out of place.

When the Prussian army was thrown into the Duchies to support the decree of the Vor-Parlament incorporating Schleswig with the German Confederation, the Danes had made a gallant resistance, but they had been compelled at the end of April to withdraw their army, before the superior numbers of their opponents, from the mainland to the neighbouring islands of Alsen and Fünen. Upon this the Prussian General Von Wrangel advanced with a division of his army into Jutland. This invasion of purely Danish territory alarmed the Swedish Government, and they lost no time in addressing a formal remonstrance 'to the Court of Berlin against a step which seemed to threaten the integrity or the existence of Denmark, and thereby the security of the other Scandinavian kingdoms.' This remonstrance was accompanied by an intimation, that, if the measure were persisted in, Sweden would send a *corps-d'armée* into Fünen, or some other of the Danish islands, 'to be ready to oppose such an invasion on the part of Germany.' The Prussian Government replied that their object was not conquest, but reprisals

for the seizure by Denmark of German property, and a guarantee for compensation. Nevertheless, the Swedish Government landed a considerable force on the island of Fünen; and at the same time, a Russian fleet was ordered to cruise along the Danish coast, to watch the course of events, and to act if necessary. These measures had the desired effect. The Prussian troops were withdrawn from Jutland; and Denmark relied on the effect of a close blockade of the chief Prussian ports on the Baltic, and of the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, for bringing the pressure of the Great European Powers upon Prussia to terminate the war. The good offices of Great Britain, Sweden, and Russia now came into play. A truce was arranged during the month of June, and on the 26th of August an armistice, which was to last for seven months, and under which England was appointed as mediator, was concluded at Malmoe, which terminated the contest—but only for a time.

Again, as to Italy. Soon after the outbreak of the war in Lombardy and Venetia, Austria had sought the good offices of England to negotiate terms of amicable arrangement with their revolted subjects. With this view Herr von Hummelauer came to England in May, and submitted various proposals to our Government, which ultimately took the following shape. Lombardy was to be set free by Austria, to dispose of herself as she chose, but taking upon herself a suitable proportion of the pecuniary liabilities of the Austrian Empire; Venetia, which Austria desired still to hold as a protection to Trieste, and her trade on the Adriatic, was to be erected into an Austrian Principality, with an Archduke at its head under the Emperor as suzerain. This proposal, it was obvious, even if the Italians had been in a mood to accept it, could only have patched up the question between them and Austria for a time. But it could scarcely be doubted that any proposal, which left the Austrians a footing in Italy,

would at that time have been rejected with scorn, flushed as the national party were with their first successes in the Lombard campaign, and believing, as they did, that these were but the prelude to a conclusive triumph. It was doubtful, too, whether the King of Sardinia could at that time have ventured to entertain it, without endangering his hold upon his own subjects. Such at least was the conclusion at which the English Cabinet arrived, and they therefore declined to negotiate between the parties, as there appeared to be no reasonable probability that the Italians would agree to the terms proposed.

As the summer advanced, and the King of Sardinia found that he was left to fight the battle of Italian independence without the hearty co-operation in men and means which had been promised to him by the Milanese and others, there can be no doubt that he would willingly have concluded a peace on the basis of the surrender of Lombardy by Austria. But Austria would not negotiate with him, and those with whom she was disposed to treat as mediators declined to interfere unless Venetia were surrendered along with Lombardy. Her pacific overtures therefore fell to the ground. Soon afterwards the tide of fortune turned in her favour. On the 22nd of July Charles Albert sustained a serious defeat at Custozza. This was followed by another, still more serious, at Somma Campagna on the 26th. By the 27th his whole forces had fallen back beyond the line of the Mincio. The 3rd of August saw him enter Milan with the remnant of his army, where, after being exposed for three days to the angry recriminations of the revolutionary party, whose own remissness in sending forward money and supplies to his troops had contributed mainly to the disastrous issue of the campaign, he was compelled to quit the city on one side as the Austrian troops entered it upon the other.

Baron Stockmar to the Prince.

'15th July, 1841.

'Archduke John was installed two days since. . . . This event, as was natural, has for some days had so far a tranquillising effect, as the mass of the public thinks that some advance has been made towards the speedy fulfilment of the generally cherished expectations. For this fulfilment *actual deeds* are necessary. If the Reichsverweser is able to operate *in that way*, then he may soon become a considerable power; if, on the other hand, he be doomed by circumstances or evil luck to inactivity, no matter of how brief duration, the prestige of his office will very speedily sink to a mere shadow. . . .

'I also am of opinion, that Russia's policy will be a waiting one, cautious and looking far ahead, because such a policy is absolutely essential for the interests both of Russia and the Emperor. Nicholas will hardly go to war, until he is either forced by us into it, or until the odds are in favour of doing so with success.

'Germany will certainly not be drawn *forthwith* into a war; but this is the utmost that can be predicted on this point, for I anticipate no real remedy from the armistice in Denmark. In that quarter Holstein has merely chipped the eggs, but not kneaded them into the cake. They have had recourse to half measures, which have had the effect of placing them half on a revolutionary and half on a legal footing, where they still are. Out of such elements peace cannot come. The old eggs will of course soon grow stale, and when they have become unfit for use, a new cake will be kneaded, which either the Danes will cook after their own fashion, or the Schleswig-Holsteiners after the fashion of a revolution effected by their declaring themselves wholly independent of the Danish dynasty.

'A peace between Austria and Italy on the basis of Venice remaining part of the Austrian Empire *will only be a protracted armistice.*

'Your Royal Highness asks what impression the events of Paris have made upon us? Very different ones, I should say, at different places. In Frankfort we are too much taken up with ourselves, to have much sensibility to impressions from without. We are consequently just as mad as we were,—if possible, even madder. As it is here, so in all likelihood will it be in Vienna, Berlin, and Breslau. On the other hand, these events will have made a deeper and juster impression in the North, along the coast, in the Hanse Towns, in Hanover,—in places which have from the first been more cool and calm, than in the South, and which up to this time, in consequence of the burdens and losses of the war with Denmark, have become still more cool and calm.

'Your Royal Highness justly remarks, that our revolutionary fever is specifically French, something like a certain epidemic fever, which is specifically Hungarian, and only to be caught on Hungarian soil. And this French radicalism, with which we are tainted, is just what weighs so heavily upon my heart. When, some years ago, I used to discuss politics with Bunsen, he used constantly to think, that if I had my way, I would Anglicise Germany too much. His common expression was,—"But everything must be done in a true German spirit, and in accordance and harmony with the German nature." But German nature is apt to be sluggish, and not to move till it is too late. Bunsen's truly German dreams were outstripped by the course of events, and the moderate reformers woke up to find the field in possession of a revolution on the French model and themselves nowhere. A revolution, however, which is based upon the maxims of radicalism, must of necessity renounce all principles of justice, and we may, therefore, find excuses for the way we are

going on just now, but justify it on rational grounds we never can.

'Your Royal Highness is of opinion, that the military will ultimately be the instrument by which order and peace will be restored to Germany. That brute force and lawlessness will ultimately be in turn put under constraint by material force, there can indeed be no doubt. But how far the initial attempts to enforce this constraint will be successful, how far they may be even possible, at the present moment especially, is hard to say. Discipline, as it has hitherto existed among German troops, is no longer intact. How is it possible, that the social movement, which has affected all ranks, should have failed to infect the army as well? The South German troops are all more or less touched by the social epidemic. Even the Prussians, in certain regiments, have not escaped it. . . .

'From the first attempt to restore order and law by means of the troops, I therefore expect no decisive results; nay, I rather fear, it will only increase the anarchy and confusion, and may even lead to civil war. Generally, I foresee grave events within the next few weeks, for the parties (Governments and National Assembly) are ranged in a manner face to face, and in such a way that there is no alternative but peaceful union or hostile separation.'

CHAPTER XXVIII.

It was a pleasure to the Prince to be recalled for a time from the study of the great but saddening political problems which were being worked out abroad and at home to topics, always favourites with him, which dealt purely with the advancement of the arts of peace, and with what Bacon has called 'the relief of man's estate.' Such were those to be discussed at the meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society, to be held at York upon the 13th of July, where he had agreed 'to pay an old debt,' as he told the meeting, by being present. He had been for upwards of six years a Governor of the Society. His appearance on this occasion called forth a display of loyalty more demonstrative than usual, and he charmed his audience by a speech at once graceful, compact, suggestive, and playful. In the few words in which he proposed the success of the Society he seemed to have spoken what other men would have taken long to say. What the Society proposed to do and what it had done was put in a way, too, which must have persuaded even those enthusiasts to whom high-farming and the improvement of stock are the great business of life, that the speaker was inspired by a knowledge and a zeal no whit inferior to their own. When he told his large audience what '*we* agriculturists of England' had in view, this identification of himself with their pursuits sent a thrill of pleasure through the meeting, which broke out into loud acclamations. This and a naïve avowal at the close that he had himself 'experienced the pleasures and the little pangs'

attendant on agricultural pursuits,[1] made all feel how thoroughly English their young Prince had grown in his tastes, and how well he knew the way to the hearts of the people, to whose welfare his best thoughts were devoted.

No man was better able than the Prince to appreciate the value of any mechanical invention or improvement.[2] He was unusually quick to comprehend its principle, and the eminently practical character of his mind impelled him at once to measure how far it was likely to accomplish the object aimed at. The inspection of the implements brought together at a meeting of this kind was therefore not merely a delight to him, but a matter also of close and thoughtful study. It is not, therefore, surprising to find him acknowledging in the following letter to the Queen that, having spent in the Show-yard the morning hours, when the rest of the world were either asleep or idling, he was 'pretty well done up' even before his public work for the day began.

[1] The Prince had exhibited in 1843 and each subsequent year at the Smithfield Shows, and taken prizes there, and also at the Shows of the Royal Agricultural Society of Ireland, and the Royal Dublin Society. In 1848 he took the first prize, and was very proud of taking it, at the Smithfield Show for the best Hereford ox.

[2] A remarkable instance of the Prince's accuracy of observation in matters of this kind has been brought to our notice by Mr. Jowitt, of Harehills, Leeds. During the visit of the Queen and Prince to Leeds in 1858, for the purpose of opening the Town Hall there, the Prince made a private visit to the Exhibition of Social Industry. In one of the rooms, the separate pieces of machinery, which make up Mr. Donisthorpe's wool-combing machine were laid out upon a table. 'The Prince,' Mr. Jowitt writes, 'was interested in looking at them, having seen the machine at work in the Great Exhibition of 1851. In another part of the building machinery in motion was exhibited, and Mr. Donisthorpe was there to explain his machine to the Prince. He needed, however, no explanation, at once understanding this complex and most valuable invention: but, looking closely at the machine, he remarked that there was a wheel or something of that kind wanting, pointing out where and how it should be introduced,—to the great surprise of Mr. Donisthorpe, who said it was so,—(it had been accidentally left out)—but that not one man in ten thousand would have noticed the omission. Mr. Darnton Lupton and others who were present are now dead, but the incident is very fresh in my memory.' Many other facts of a similar character might be adduced in confirmation of what is said in the text.

'. . . I am already pretty well done up: I have still much before me. Soon after five this morning, certainly by six, we were in the "Show-yard" to inspect the farm implements, which are certainly wonderfully ingenious, and kept our attention on the stretch for a couple of hours. I then went over the Museum and the Museum Garden. In an hour I go to the Cathedral, about half-past two back to the Show-yard, which will then be open to the public. About four the grand dinner comes off, which will last several hours. In the evening I go to the Ball, which is given at the Mansion House by the City, and the Mayor has just suggested that I should be present about midnight after the Ball at his Banquet in the Guildhall, but this I have declined. To-morrow we shall be stirring betimes, so as to be in London by two. . . .

'The dinner yesterday was very tedious and very hot!! Of people I knew there were present Lord Yarborough (in the chair), Lords Fortescue, Morpeth, and Lonsdale, then Van de Weyer, Bunsen, and Bancroft (as Foreign Ministers), the Duke of Richmond, Lord Feversham, Lord Talbot, Lord Chichester, Lord George Bentinck, Sir John Johnstone, Mr. Shelley, Colonel Challoner, Captain Pelham, Mr. Hudson, Mr. Monckton Milnes, Captain Duncombe, Hon. A. Duncombe, &c. &c. After dinner there was a discussion on farming. The dinner was infamous—without method and without viands. No wine, muddy water, no potatoes, the fish without sauce. That of to-day will be cold! Heaven defend my stomach!

'York, Judges' Lodgings,
'13th July, 1848: ten o'clock A.M.'

The Prince returned next day to London, where the pressure of public affairs made his absence from the Queen's side even for a day a matter of difficulty. In all their

manifold details he was soon once more immersed. Meanwhile the echo of the general applause with which his speech at York was received throughout the country reached him, and gave him much satisfaction. He refers to it with his usual modesty at the end of a long letter on foreign politics to Baron Stockmar:

'. . . German affairs seem to have taken a turn for the better in consequence of the acceptance of the Archduke. It is true that all the difficult questions are as far from being solved as before, but greater confidence has been inspired, and this is a preliminary condition indispensable for their solution.

'I have just returned from York, where I was several days at the Agricultural Meeting, and was received with enthusiasm. I had to speak, too, and was immensely applauded for what I said. Pray do not say "*Mouche du Coche!*"[3] to this. I only mention it because I believe it will give you pleasure, as you have often urged me to have more confidence in matters of this kind.

'Buckingham Palace, 18th July, 1848.'

It was natural that the Queen should speak more unreservedly of the effect produced by the Prince's appearance at York. To Baron Stockmar Her Majesty wrote: 'The Prince's visit to York was a complete triumph, and he was most enthusiastically received. He made another most successful speech, and he is himself quite astonished at being such an excellent speaker, as he says it is the last thing he ever dreamt he should have success in. He possesses one other great quality, which is "tact;" he never says a word too much or too little.' Writing to King Leopold the same day, Her Majesty again adverts to this last quality of the Prince's mind in these

[3] See this allusion explained in Note 3, p. 467 of the first volume.

words: 'Independently of his acute mind and pure and excellent heart, he has rare tact, and always knows what to say, and how to say it.'

Ireland, the Prince found upon his return from York, was once more the subject of pressing anxiety. The leaders of Young Ireland had been too deeply pledged to action by their own wild oratory to take warning by their narrow escape from the fate which had overtaken Mr. Mitchel. His paper, *The United Irishman*, was no sooner suppressed than it was succeeded by *The Irish Felon*, a journal which fully justified its name by the character of its contents. *The Nation* and *The Tribune*, the two other Dublin organs of the party, made the defiance of the Government and the establishment of a republic the burden of their leaders. Meanwhile clubs were organised throughout the country with the avowed object of preparing for a general rising. Midnight drills were carried on with increased vigour, arms were bought up and distributed in large numbers,[4] and the well-affected, who turned a deaf ear to the appeals to join the clubs, were denounced as the enemies of the country. Revolution, not Repeal, was openly avowed as the thing to be aimed at. This, it was true, had the effect of separating the Old Ireland party from the movement. They saw only too well the bloody issue which was likely to be provoked. But even Repeal, purchased at such a price, their great leader, O'Connell, had in past days told them again and again would have been too dear. No political change was worth, in his view, the shedding of a single drop of blood. The mass of the country people, too, were totally indifferent to any political subject. To them Repeal or Republic were little

[4] The favourite weapon was the pike. There were eight different kinds of these, of which a drawing, obtained by the Prince at the time, is before us. For the purposes of massacre they were admirably designed. For use in the field against well-armed troops, they were worthless.

more than words; but on any successful outbreak in Dublin the Government had reason to apprehend that they might follow the example, in the delusive hope of getting the land into their own hands, which Mr. Meagher and other fiery rhetoricians were constantly assuring them would be only a resumption of what was in fact their own. The state of uneasiness had become intolerable. No one could tell to what extent the disaffection had spread, or how soon it might explode into open revolt. Trade was at a standstill, and the paralysis of industry, caused by the continued agitation, threatened to involve thousands in bankruptcy and ruin.

Lord Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant, felt that a crisis had been reached, which made it necessary to strike at the heart of the threatened rebellion. The two Acts, which had been passed within the last ten months with the view of arresting its progress, had proved wholly insufficient for the purpose. This was so well known, that the House of Commons, despite their natural aversion to conceding to Government summary and arbitrary powers, did not hesitate for a moment in applying this drastic remedy to what they felt to be a desperate disease. Accordingly Lord John Russell was received with cheers when he announced, on the 21st of July, that he should next day ask leave to bring in a Bill to enable the Lord Lieutenant 'to apprehend and detain until the 1st of March, 1849, such persons as he shall suspect of conspiring against Her Majesty's Government.'

The statement which he laid before the House on introducing the Bill left no doubt as to the necessity of the measure. The general facts were already familiar to all; but any hesitation which might have been felt was removed by the language of a letter received that morning from Lord Clarendon, and read to the House, in which he declared that 'the change which had come over the people within the last ten days was most alarming, and was greater than any which

had ever been seen before in Ireland.' 'No doubt,' Lord John Russell added, after quoting this letter, 'any attempt at insurrection would be put down, but it could not be done without much bloodshed and the sacrifice of many lives.' After such an announcement the House were not likely to give much heed to an amendment moved by Mr. Sharman Crawford, 'that the present distracted state of Ireland arises from misgovernment and from the want of remedial measures, without which no coercive measures can restore either order or content to the country.' Only eight Members ventured to support a proposition so directly at variance with the facts, and it was negatived by a majority of 263. The Bill was passed through all its stages in the House of Commons the same day—a Saturday. On the following Monday it was sent up to the House of Lords, where the same despatch was given to it, and next day it received the Royal Assent.

Writing the same day on which this was given to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, the Prince alludes to these events in terms which show how much they had added to the other anxieties of the time:

'. . . Ah, that the world would also grow somewhat better; but I fear the disease is very deeply seated. Much that is untoward stands in the way of a recovery, and no physician is to be found who could undertake the cure. The Archduke John is going to try his hand in doctoring Germany. It is no easy task.

'We, too, have a sore in Ireland at this moment that is ripe for bursting. But we are resolved not to be beaten, and can go into the fight with confidence, for we have a clear conscience, and for years have done nothing but apply remedial measures to that unhappy country. . . .

'We have now retired to Osborne, and had much need of some repose. All are well in health.

'Osborne, 25th July, 1848.'

No time was lost in putting the new Act into force. Immediately on its arrival in Dublin (26th July) warrants were issued for the arrest of Messrs. Smith O'Brien, Meagher, Dillon, and others of the most prominent instigators to rebellion. The same day a proclamation was published, declaring the clubs illegal and requiring them to dissolve. This some of them did. Face to face with the fact of having to fight with the certainty of being beaten, many drew back who had been loudest to applaud, while the glories of the promised conflict blazed before them in the frenzied rhetoric of their leaders. At the same time the loyal and peaceable members of the community had the satisfaction of seeing that most complete measures had been taken by the Government for their protection. A very large military force had been concentrated in the districts most tainted with disaffection. The south coast was alive with war-steamers under the command of Sir Charles Napier, and ships-of-war were stationed at Cork and Waterford, which could have swept their thoroughfares with their guns. A few days later the counties of Kerry, Galway, Wexford, Carlow, Queen's County, Kildare, Wicklow, Westmeath and Louth, with many of the baronies of other counties, were proclaimed under the 'Crime and Outrage Act,' and a general disarmament of the inhabitants was instituted. Every precaution, in short, was taken to prevent a rising, if possible, or, in the worst event, to make the struggle brief and its issue decisive.

The climax of this last and seemingly formidable chapter in the long sad story of Irish insurrections was soon reached. So completely cowed by the activity of the Government were the men who by thousands had been spending their nights in drill and their scanty means in purchasing pikes and other instruments of slaughter, that only a few thousands of them could be got to rally round the man whom they had been for some time hailing as 'the King of Munster.' With

these at his back, Mr. Smith O'Brien advanced, on the 28th of July, towards the town of Ballingarry, when he encountered a body of forty-seven police, who had marched out to meet them. Finding the insurgents in such force, the inspector withdrew his men into a small house, occupied by a Widow Cormack, where he awaited their attack. This his party received with so much vigour, that after two of the assailants had been killed and several wounded, while the police remained unhurt, the main body retired from the attack, and dispersed in confusion. The rebellion was practically at an end. On the 5th of August Mr. Smith O'Brien, after wandering about the country for several days, having been recognised by a railway guard on his way to the station at Thurles, was arrested, and sent under escort to Dublin. A few days afterwards Meagher, and two of his brother leaders, in wretched plight from exposure, fatigue, and hunger, were arrested by a police-patrol on a public road. They made no resistance. Numerous arrests of others more or less actively implicated in the movement were made within the next few days, and the country, with the exception of some parts of Tipperary, where some miserable attempts at an armed rising were continued into the month of September, was rapidly reduced to a condition of sullen tranquillity. Towards the end of July *The Irish Felon* had written: 'There are at present in occupation of our country some 40,000 armed men in the livery and service of England; and the question is, How best and soonest to kill and capture these 40,000 men?' Happily the problem had proved too hard for the reckless schemers who, calling themselves patriots, were doing their country hourly wrong by filling its ignorant peasantry with delusive hopes, and making life a burden and a fear to every honest and industrious citizen.

Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and MacManus were brought to trial in September, and having been convicted of high

treason were sentenced to death. To have carried this sentence into effect would have been to raise these morbid egotists to the dignity of martyrs. The rebellion which they had intended should be a tragedy had turned out a farce; and it was in all ways best to leave them in the contempt into which they had fallen by their own conduct. Early in the proceedings it was made apparent that the Government did not intend to inflict the capital sentence. But when they announced that it was to be commuted to transportation for life, instead of accepting in silence this gracious act of mercy, the disappointed rebels, consistent in folly to the last, pretended that the Government were bound by the sentence of the Court, and that they must either be set at liberty, or hanged, drawn, and quartered according to the statute, and not sent across the seas at the will of a Sovereign whom they had disowned![5]

The effect of the proceedings taken by the Government in Ireland was still unknown when the Prince wrote the letter to Baron Stockmar immediately to be quoted.

The Baron had recently been sounded as to his willingness to accept the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the new Central Government at Frankfort. His answer was characteristic. 'The man must be simply mad, who at sixty, with gout in his stomach, would undertake the office of sick nurse to Germany, prostrate as she is with contagious fever.' Bunsen had heard of the suggestion with pleasure. 'You should have seen the look of Lord Palmerston,' he writes to Stockmar on the 15th of July (*Memoirs*, ii. 189), 'when I told him the news as a diplomatic report. "That would be

[5] They had first tried to get their sentence set aside on narrow technical grounds by an appeal to the Court of Queen's Bench, and having failed there, by an appeal to the House of Lords, which confirmed the judgment of the Court below on the 10th of May, 1848. To put beyond a doubt the question of the right of the Crown to commute their sentence, an act was carried through Parliament immediately afterwards.

a happy choice indeed! He is one of the best political heads I have ever met with!"' Stockmar wished Bunsen to undertake the office he had himself declined, and seems to have consented to accept the Premiership, if Bunsen would have agreed. But Bunsen felt himself bound by his relations to Prussia to let it be known that he could not do so; and by this time, as he writes to his wife on the 3rd of August (*Memoirs*, ii. 193) 'all Prussia is in a great state of irritation against Frankfort, as one man. The affair was not well managed from the beginning.' Prussia was in fact ruffled by the appointment of an Austrian Archduke as *Reichsverweser;* and this soreness of feeling had been aggravated by the demand of the new Central Power, that the Prussian army should be submitted to its control, and that Prussia should consent to be represented diplomatically by the Central Power. The attitude adopted by that Power towards the Sovereigns and Princes of the other States had been not more conciliatory; and the seeds of the antagonism were thus sown which ultimately wrecked the whole scheme. The symptoms had already become ominous, when the Prince wrote as follows:

'Dear Stockmar,—This letter is taken to you by Lord Cowley, who is charged with compliments to the Reichsverweser, and with a private letter to him from Victoria to the same effect. Things seem in Germany to have reached another crisis. I have just written a long letter to ——, which you should ask to see. —— has absolutely no principles as a politician, and therefore, able as he is, he wavers to and fro like a reed shaken by the wind. Besides, like the young soldier under fire, he has the fault, with which you have often reproached me, of being always eager, when danger arises, to be doing something, and that instantly. Thus it is that he has needlessly laid the rights of his order

upon the altar of his country without producing any effect, and is now desirous that all Sovereigns should abdicate.'

When he wrote this the Prince could not have been aware of a speech of Stockmar's, which had taken away the breath of his brother representatives at the Diet, after the Diet had decreed its own dissolution. 'Now the Diet is dissolved,' he said, 'the time has come for the separate governments, especially the small ones, to acknowledge themselves as impossible and superfluous, and to sacrifice themselves for the sake of one great whole. Such a last patriotic act as this would be the only worthy wind up to the Diet.' Stockmar had many reasons for this opinion; but one of the chief of these was what he expresses in a letter of the 11th of July of this year (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 520). 'That these are times when small sovereigns are quite unable to fulfil by their own power the primary purpose of a State, protection to life and property, was hidden from the eyes of the multitude by the protracted state of tranquillity. Add to this that the subdivisions, which made us so weak, gave rise in the governments to a false belief in their strength and security as against their own subjects. They fancied that revolutions could only take place in single States at a time when they might be helped by their neighbours who were quiet and secure. Now, however, we see that no one of them can help the other.' The Prince, though opposed at this time to Stockmar's views on this point, came round to them afterwards. His letter proceeds:

'We have unquestionably reached the point where the position of all the separate governments must be settled with reference to some central authority. The way and manner in which the central authority has been created by the National Assembly was not the way to make what sacrifices had to be made agreeable to the separate Governments. Perhaps this

was not even the wish of the principal leaders, who find a certain charm and enjoyment in a student-like insolence (*Grobheit*) towards all subsisting authorities or even persons of rank. This has brought us to the brink of a separatist movement, which, however, it would be better not to provoke. If an accord between the separate States and the central body be not effected, then there can be no unity; and to desire unity only in such a way as to make the existence of the separate States within it impossible, is to make the struggle for its destruction a necessity for Germany, and this struggle, however it may end, will be a terrible misfortune. Can, then, no road to union be devised? No time should be lost by the separate States in settling the central authority, even to ensure an harmonious mutual understanding, and the Assembly should not tolerate unnecessary insults to the States by the representatives.

'I hear Bunsen is to go to Frankfort, in order to take in hand the questions of foreign policy—at least, he surmises this to be the object of his sudden summons to Berlin. May he be fortunate in those about him, for he is impressionable, and the readiness with which he assimilates other men's ideas exposes him to this danger, that he examines and advocates both sides of the question in succession before drawing the deduction that finally determines his views. This once done, these are generally very correct, and, by reason of the preliminary process, are based upon a principle. But if he is forced to act before he has worked out his conclusions, it is often a mere toss-up which side he will adopt. It will always be difficult for a Prussian official to stand between the Archduke, the Paulus Church, Berlin, and Potsdam, and not to run his head against the whole four.

'Here we have at last been compelled to deal with the Irish in good earnest, otherwise the organisation would have gone too far. Whether it will yet come to an insurrection

or not, the next few days must decide. Delay is in our favour.

'In the Italian business the moment has arrived for making a peace. Cavaignac will go hand in hand with us. . . .

'But I must stop. Come to us soon. A few thorough talks with you would be a real benefit to me.

'Osborne, 28th July, 1848.'

Some days later the tidings reached the Prince of the appointment of the Reichsverweser Ministry, with the Queen's half-brother, Prince Leiningen, at the head of the Department of Foreign Affairs, an appointment which gave him great satisfaction, as an earnest, along with the other appointments, that there were now men of character and weight at the head of the great novel experiment for its reconstitution on which Germany had entered.

'Dear Stockmar,— . . . . We were surprised yesterday by the nomination of Charles (Prince Leiningen) as Minister President. It is good for the cause that he has received the appointment. That a Prince appears at the head of the first Ministry gives a certain dignity to the cause, and Charles has talent for foreign affairs, and at the same time no small experience gained by his long residence here. You, too, will, no doubt, do a little prompting behind the scenes, which can have only good results. What now is to be the attitude of the separate States towards the central authority? Is this to take no legitimate and official shape, or is it to be formed entirely by Declarations, and counter-Declarations, and street brawls? This seems to me to be at this moment the most important thing the Reichsverweser has to arrange.

'Osborne, 9th August, 1848.'

What the Princes of the separate States might or might not do seems to have been of small account with Stockmar, if only Prussia would have taken up a clear and unequivocal position. Was the King prepared to place himself at the head of Germany or not? If he would only say yes, and adhere to the resolution, Stockmar believed that the majority of the Assembly would support his claims, and that the Princes of the other States were powerless to resist them. But the King would not take the initiative. The democratic basis of the National Assembly was abhorrent to him. 'Do not forget that there are still Princes in Germany, and that I am one of them,' were his words (15th of August, 1848) to the deputation of the Frankfort Assembly sent to welcome him at Cologne on the occasion of the festival on the re-opening of the Cathedral. Any proposals from the Assembly, he told Bunsen two days later, 'must be supported by the Princes, in order to enable him to accept them with honour and a good conscience. He could not approve of an usurpation against the other States, against which, as far as Prussia was concerned, he would himself protest.' (*Bunsen's Leben*, German edition, ii. 471.) What could be hoped for from the side of Prussia, after such a declaration, by one who knew, as Stockmar did, that by their own will the sovereigns of the other States would never comply with its conditions?

These sovereigns had shown no disposition to make concessions to the exigencies of the time, or to assist the Assembly in organising an united Germany. The Assembly, on the other hand, intoxicated with the idea of its own supremacy—although having no army, nor the power of raising one at its back, it was impotent unless supported by the good will of Prussia and the other States—went on its way as though it were a real power, which could mould sovereigns and people to its will. What the Assembly really was, Wolfgang Menzel has described in one of his pithy sentences.

'In Frankfort sat a feeble old man, among five hundred talkers as powerless as himself, who unfortunately did all they could to destroy, as quickly and as completely as possible, their moral power, the only one they had.'[6] Things were in this state when the Prince wrote the following letter to Prince Leiningen:

'Dear Charles,—I send you a memorandum by a German diplomatist, drawn with very liberal colours, and throwing light upon the question of German unity, and the bearing of the Frankfort Assembly in regard to it, which I consider so true and just, that I beg you to read it attentively, and then to communicate it to Stockmar. The man, I think, is quite right, when he speaks of the mistake of thinking that it is from Frankfort that strength is to be given to the German Governments, to order, and to public safety. The only thing which in the long run will hold together in Germany is the relation which has grown up through sentiment and history between the governing families and the countries hereditarily appertaining to their houses. The weakness is greatest in the countries which, by the operation of injustice and crime, have become united under certain reigning houses (Baden, Würtemberg, Darmstadt, Rhenish Prussia, Rhenish Bavaria, &c.), and the weakness will attach to the German Central Government also, if, instead of being an adequate expression of the States and Governments under it, it aims and is bent on standing on the basis of the Revolution, and following out some plan moulded on expediency by certain popular or rather revolutionary representatives. Let such be its course, and the form of government for Germany will be an open question for all time, as to which every man may alter his opinion as he pleases, according to whatever outward circumstances may influence it. Whether republic or

[6] *Geschichte der Letzten Vierzig Jahre*, vol. ii. p. 262.

monarchy will, among others, be a mere question of a dominant majority. What a Frankfort Assembly determines to-day, another may upset to-morrow; a settled state of public law will be quite impossible, because on the momentary caprices of public meetings will depend what is to be regarded as public law.

'Osborne, 21st August, 1848.'

Soon after the date of this letter the National Assembly were taught by the stern discipline of facts, that they were in truth a nullity. When the armistice, which, as already mentioned (*supra*, p. 81), had been concluded on the 26th of August at Malmoe, between Denmark and Prussia, came under discussion, that Assembly took exception to its terms, and carried away by the eloquent denunciations of it by Herr Dahlmann and others, as a compromise of German honour, and as an abuse by Prussia of the power with which she had been entrusted, resolved by a vote of 238 to 22 that it should not be ratified. This was followed by the resignation of the Ministry. Dahlmann was entrusted with the formation of a new Ministry, but he could find no one prepared to join with him in trying to carry on the war without the aid of Prussia, and had to give up the attempt. This and the conduct of the revolutionary party in the Duchies themselves brought the majority in the Assembly to their senses; and on the 16th of September they retraced their steps, and voted by 257 to 236 that the armistice should be supported.

This lesson that, while they vaunted themselves to be a great central representative power, they were in fact no power at all, was still further illustrated by the fact that their very existence was saved a few days afterwards by the troops of Prussia and of Austria. So soon as the decision of the Assembly in favour of the armistice was declared, the extreme Radi-

cals, who had long been waiting for the opportunity to upset all government, set to work to inflame the passions of the populace, with the view of taking the Assembly by storm. But when they advanced on the 18th to the Paulus Church for this purpose, they found it guarded by some battalions of Austrian and Prussian soldiers, who had been hastily summoned by the Archduke's Ministers from the neighbouring fortress of Mayence. Barricades were thrown up, but the military after some sharp fighting, in which they were forced in the end to bring artillery into play, carried everything before them, with a loss of only eight killed. Two members of the Assembly of great distinction, however, Prince Lichnowski and General Auerswald, were hacked to pieces by the mob with brutal atrocity. From the events of that day may be dated a strong conservative reaction at Frankfort; neither were they without influence in strengthening the feeling in the same direction which was rapidly spreading through other parts of Germany.

Meantime, England had been able without bloodshed to put down the last desperate combinations of the men, who, if they could have had their way, would have ravaged some of her principal cities with fire and sword. The allies of the Irish Confederation and the more desperate of the Chartists had been watching for the success of the rebellion in Ireland, to carry out their own designs, when the country, drained by Ireland of its soldiers, would have been less able to make head against them. A general rising in London and several of the principal towns had been planned for the 16th of August. Every arrangement, it afterwards appeared, was no sooner settled than it was made known to the Government by volunteer spies, who had taken part in the proceedings as the designated 'Generals,' 'Presidents,' &c. of the future movement. The authorities had no difficulty, therefore, in determining how and when to act. Seizing the moment

when the leading conspirators were met for deliberation at their various haunts, the police made a descent upon them so sudden, that they found themselves without the power of resistance. Most of them were armed to the teeth, some with iron breastplates; and large quantities of weapons, ammunition, and tow-balls, for use in setting fire to the public buildings, were found in the houses where they were arrested. The men themselves were beyond conception contemptible, and their plans, although wildly mischievous, were absolutely childish. It was, therefore, hard to believe that the public safety had ever been in actual danger from them. But although the names of their leaders, Cuffey, Lacy, Jay, and Mullins, became a laughing-stock in the country, it was well both for the country and for themselves, that through the treachery of their confederates they were brought to justice without even the opportunity of attempting the measures of rapine and spoliation, which were the only intelligible part of their programme. In the concluding paragraph of the following letter to Baron Stockmar the Prince makes a remark on the tendency of people to underrate a public danger when it is past, which it is well to bear in mind, for it admits of being applied to much that is said and done in reference to matters of public policy, both domestic and foreign :—

'We intend to sail, the day Parliament rises, on a visit for fourteen days to Balmoral, my new property in Aberdeenshire, to which we are strongly urged by Clark, and, as far as I am concerned, by some little curiosity also. Besides the two elder children, we take with us Affie [Prince Alfred], who is still not quite well. Clark promises that Scotland will set everything to rights.

'. . . In politics things are still somewhat hazy. Our Irish would-be rebellion is suppressed, and the ringleaders

will certainly be convicted and transported. In London and all the great English towns, on the very night that a general rising of the Chartists was to have taken place, the leaders of the conspiracy, to a man, were seized and imprisoned neatly and simultaneously. The plan was imitated from the Parisian *ouvriers*, and shells with nails in them had been prepared after the Parisian model; but these gentry have not the same elements to work upon here as in Paris. . . .

'The affair will do good, as the dislike of the well-to-do to being compelled to pay for an increase of the police force had already become great, and the very people who force the Government in the moment of danger into extreme measures, as soon as the danger is past, abuse the Government for having adopted them. . . .

'Osborne, 20th August, 1848.

The sitting of Parliament, which had been protracted through no less than ten months, came to a close on the 5th of September, when it was prorogued by the Queen in person. On this occasion the new House of Lords was used for the first time, and its splendour was heightened by the unusual brilliancy of the assemblage which received the Sovereign within its walls. The day was bright, and immense crowds along the route from Buckingham Palace had been at pains to show, that, amid the crash of thrones, their devotion to the Queen and to the Constitution had suffered no abatement. 'I acknowledge,' said Her Majesty with marked emphasis on this part of the Royal Speech, 'with grateful feelings the many marks of loyalty and attachment which I have received from all classes of my people.'

Not less noticeable was the expression given to the words, in which Her Majesty referred with justifiable pride to the reciprocal faith in monarch and in people which had borne them triumphantly through the trials of the past, and was

the best guarantee for strength and tranquillity in the future.

'The strength of our institutions has been tried, and has not been found wanting. I have studied to preserve the people committed to my charge in the enjoyment of that temperate freedom which they so justly value. My people, on their side, feel too sensibly the advantages of order and security to allow the promoters of pillage and confusion any chance of success in their wicked designs.'

CHAPTER XXIX.

Immediately after proroguing Parliament, the Queen and Prince proceeded to Woolwich, where the Royal squadron was waiting to convey them to Aberdeen on their way to Balmoral. About eight o'clock on the morning of the 7th of September, Aberdeen harbour was reached; and although this was nearly twenty-four hours earlier than was expected, the municipal authorities were on the alert to give the Royal visitors an appropriate welcome to the fair city of Bon Accord. The Prince was presented before landing with the freedom of the city, and subsequently visited the two Universities, the Museum, and the great granite quarries in the neighbourhood. Next day the Royal party drove to Balmoral, full of eager anticipation as to their future Highland home.

Neither were they disappointed. The attention of the Royal physician, Sir James Clark, had been called by his son, now Sir John Clark, to the fine air and other attractions of this part of Deeside as a summer and autumn residence. Having satisfied himself on these points, he had urged the Queen and Prince to acquire the lease of the Balmoral estate from the Earl of Aberdeen, into whose hands it had come upon the death of Sir Robert Gordon in 1847. The lease was only for thirty-eight years from the year 1836; but the property was found to possess so completely the good qualities which had led to its being selected, that the Prince purchased

the fee simple of it in 1852 from the trustees of the Earl of Fife. Apart from the beauty of the surrounding scenery, the dry bracing character of the air was precisely what, in Sir James Clark's opinion, was most essential for the peculiar constitutions of the Queen and Prince. The whole of Deeside, from Charleston of Aboyne to Castleton of Braemar, he held to be one of the driest districts of Scotland, and especially of the Highlands, and no spot along the valley to be more favoured in this respect than Balmoral. The causes of this were twofold: first, the sandy gravelly nature both of the lowlands and of the greater part of the surrounding hills; and next, the fact that the rain-clouds from the sea break and discharge themselves upon the range of mountains which lies between Braemar and the Atlantic, before they reach Deeside. On the 15th of September Sir James Clark writes: 'We have been here a week—the weather beautiful, and the place as regards healthiness of site and beauty of scenery, exceeding my expectations, great as they were.'

The first impressions made by the place upon the Queen and Prince have been graphically described in the *Leaves from Her Majesty's Journal.* 'Looking down from the hill which overhangs the house,' Her Majesty writes (8th September), 'the view is charming. To the left you look to the beautiful hills surrounding *Loch-na-Gar*, and to the right towards *Ballater*, to the glen (or valley) along which the Dee winds, with beautiful wooded hills, which reminded us very much of the *Thüringer Wald.* It was so calm and so solitary, it did one good as one gazed around, and the pure mountain air was most refreshing. All seemed to breathe freedom and peace, and to make one forget the world and its sad turmoils. The scenery is wild and yet not desolate; and everything looks much more prosperous and cultivated than at *Laggan.* Then the soil is delightfully dry. We walked beside the Dee, a beautiful rapid stream, which is

close behind the house. The view of the hills towards *Invercauld* is exceedingly fine.'

Writing three days later to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, the Prince says :—

'We have withdrawn for a short time into a complete mountain solitude, where one rarely sees a human face, where the snow already covers the mountain tops, and the wild deer come creeping stealthily round the house. I, naughty man, have also been creeping stealthily after the harmless stags, and to-day I shot two red deer—at least, I hope so, for they are not yet found, but I have brought home a fine roe-buck with me.

'This place belonged to poor Sir Robert Gordon, Lord Aberdeen's brother, and the little castle was built by him. It is of granite, with numerous small turrets, and white-washed [*Scoticè*, harled], and is situated upon a rising ground, surrounded by birchwood, and close to the River Dee. The air is glorious and clear, but icy cold.

'Balmoral, 11th September, 1848.'

It was well for the Queen and Prince that they could refresh their spirits for a time, no matter how brief, with scenes which, in Her Majesty's words, 'seemed to breathe freedom and peace, and to make one forget the world and its sad turmoils.' Little of that oblivion, however, could be theirs during these their first days among the wilds of Loch-nagar, and the picturesque glades of the Ballochbuie forest. Every day brought news of fresh complications in Foreign affairs, not unmixed with fresh causes of disquietude at home. Thus on the 10th, as we gather from the Prince's diary, came tidings of the refusal by the National Assembly at Frankfort to confirm the armistice between Denmark and Prussia, and of the consequent resignation of the Ministry of the *Reichsverweser*. On the 11th, intelligence arrives, that

Austria has accepted the mediation of England and France between itself and Sardinia, but coupled with conditions from which it is not difficult to foresee that the mediation will come to nothing, and that the continent of Europe, despite the strenuous efforts made by England to avert such a calamity, may possibly be plunged before long into the horrors of a general war. The 12th brings despatches which tell of the break-up of the Auerswald Ministry in Berlin, and that the bad feeling between the Court there and Frankfort is becoming more and more embittered. Ireland sends, on the 15th, its tale of further outrage and devastation in the account of a fresh rising in Tipperary, which, by the 18th, the Queen is happily assured, has been satisfactorily put down. On the 22nd the news arrive of the horrible scenes in Frankfort, already mentioned (*supra*, p. 103), which culminated in the massacre of Prince Lichnowski and Major Auerswald, and also of the sudden death of Lord George Bentinck—an event which, besides the natural regret which it occasioned, was not unimportant in its bearings on the future conduct of 'Her Majesty's Opposition.' The election of Louis Napoleon as Deputy by immense majorities in no fewer than five of the Departments of France was known at Balmoral on the 24th, and gave much cause for speculation, significant as it was of the strength of the spell which lay in the name he bore. In India, the state of matters in the Punjaub had for some time occasioned no small anxiety, and events were at this moment in progress there, from which it was apparent that the revolt of the Sikhs at Mooltan, which broke out on the 1st of April of this year, and against which the British forces had hitherto contested with success, was, in truth, part of a general movement of the whole Sikh nation to establish its independence, which would tax our best energies to put down.

It will be seen how much there was here to preoccupy the

thoughts of the Sovereign and the Prince, and to make the invigorating air and wild beauty of their new home doubly precious to them as a tonic to mind and body. One day, a delightful one to both, the Prince was able to devote to an excursion with Sir Charles Lyell, who was knighted during his visit on this occasion to Balmoral.[1] Under the direction of the great geologist, the Prince's powers of exact and rapid observation enabled him to master all the leading facts which the district presents to the eye of the scientific observer, and which, in the Prince's case, mingled with and heightened his pleasure in every future ramble among the many picturesque spots on which the records of the great material forces of past ages are written in impressive signs. On the 28th the Court left Balmoral for London, and after resting there one night, proceeded to Osborne, where it remained till the 9th of October, when it returned to Windsor.

In crossing from Osborne to Portsmouth the Royal party were witnesses of a very painful disaster. The *Grampus* frigate had just arrived at Spithead from the Pacific, and five women, who had relatives among the crew, had put out for the vessel in an open boat with two watermen. The day was thick and stormy, and a sudden squall swamped the boat, not far from the *Grampus*. The accident had not been observed there, but one of the men had managed to cling to the capsized boat, and he had attracted the attention of the crew of a custom-house boat, who in pulling for him steered right across the bows of the Royal yacht. The Prince was on deck. 'He called out,' says Her Majesty's Diary, 'that he saw a man in the water; I rushed out of the pavilion and saw a man sitting on something which proved to be the keel of the boat. The next moment Albert called out in a horrified voice, "Oh dear, there are more!"—which quite overcame me.' Instantly the Royal yacht was stopped, and one of its boats

[1] He was made a Baronet in 1864.

lowered, which picked up three of the women, one of them alive and clinging to a plank, the others dead. So violent was the storm that Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence did not consider it safe for the yacht to wait the return of the boat, although both the Queen and Prince were anxious this should be done. 'We could not stop,' continues the Queen's Diary. 'It was a dreadful moment, too horrid to describe. . . . . It is a consolation to think we were of some use, and also that, even if the yacht had remained, they could not have done more. Still we all kept feeling we might, though I think we could not. . . . It is a terrible thing, and haunts me continually.'

Meanwhile the news from the Continent continued to be of a most disquieting kind. The whole of central Italy was falling more and more under the control of the party of Revolution. In Piedmont the same party were urging a renewal of the war with Austria, while the latter, strong in her recent victories there, would no longer entertain the thought of surrendering on any terms one foot of her Lombardo-Venetian territory. In Hungary civil war had already begun. Backed by the forces of the Ban of Croatia, Austria had determined to extinguish the independent existence of that country as a separate monarchy, and to turn to account for that purpose the hostile spirit of the other Hungarian races towards the Magyars. Success had attended the first movements of Kossuth and his party; but one act of atrocity, early in the campaign, while it discredited their cause, envenomed the proverbial bitterness with which civil wars are conducted. Count Lamberg, having been appointed commander-in-chief of the Imperial Army in Hungary, proceeded to Buda-Pesth to enter on his command. On the 28th of September he advanced into Pesth alone and unprotected, when he was attacked by a furious mob. He fell pierced by forty-three wounds, and

his body was dragged, with a halter round his neck, through the streets by his assassins, amid the yells of thousands, in whom every instinct of humanity was stifled for the time by hatred of the Sovereign who, as Count Lamberg himself foresaw, in sending him to the seat of the Hungarian Diet, had sent him to his death. A few days later (6th October) Vienna was in the possession of the revolutionists there. The Emperor had been compelled to withdraw to Olmütz, and his War Minister, Count Latour, had been murdered with a savage ferocity that maddened the passions of the troops, who, before the month was out, were to inflict upon the insurgents a terrible vengeance for his death. The Magyars identified themselves with the revolutionists of Vienna by advancing to their assistance when they were besieged by the Austrian troops under Prince Windischgrätz. The movement was fatal to both. The Magyars were signally defeated, under the walls of Vienna, on the 30th of October, and the insurgents, who, after soliciting and obtaining an armistice, had been tempted to renew their resistance by hopes that the Magyar forces would turn the chances of victory in their favour, had to expiate their mistake by being compelled to surrender on far worse terms than had been previously offered. Their obstinacy had, however, worked unmistakeably in the interests of law and order. For so complete was their discomfiture, that revolution, which had reigned at Vienna since March, was now effectually crushed,—not, however, without a pitiable waste of life and property, of which the city long felt the disastrous effects.

'The world is worse than ever,' the Prince writes, on hearing of these events, in a hasty note to Colonel Phipps, his secretary, who was then at a distance. 'Count Lamberg!! Lichnowsky and Auerswald!! Princess Windisch-

grätz!! the Archbishop of Paris!![2] These are dreadful stains.

'Smith O'Brien is found guilty. This is the only good thing I have heard this autumn.'

Not many days after this note was written, however, tidings reached the Prince which were infinitely more gratifying to him than the verdict of the jury on Mr. Smith O'Brien. They are recorded in the following simple entry in his Diary on the 1st of November: 'My plan for a reform of the studies at Cambridge is carried by a large majority.' When a good work had been accomplished, it was not the Prince's way to dwell much upon his own share in it. So much remained to be done in other directions that success had a personal value to him mainly as setting him free to enter upon a fresh task. But his services to the cause of education were in this instance so important, and the means which he adopted to overcome the difficulties in his way were so characteristically judicious, that some details on the subject cannot be out of place.

After his election as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, the Prince had lost no time in using his position to effect, if possible, those changes in the course of studies there which had been for some time advocated, chiefly outside the Universities themselves, as indispensable to bring them into harmony with the requirements of the time. At Cambridge a preponderance wholly inappropriate had, in course of time, come to be given to excellence in classical and mathematical study. To this alone the great prizes at the University were given. It could only be achieved by comparatively few, and it was often achieved even by them at the cost of other studies, for which the

[2] The Princess Windischgrätz was shot by the insurgents at Prague on the 12th June, 1848. Monseigneur d'Affre, Archbishop of Paris, was shot on the 25th of the same month at the barricade on the Place de la Bastille, while endeavouring to persuade the insurgents to cease firing.

University offered no distinction, but which were essential for success in public or professional life. For the many, the most valuable years for acquiring that general culture by which the level of society is most effectively raised and maintained were sacrificed to studies which took no strong hold on the attention of the general student, and consequently failed to beget those habits of industry and of thoughtful and independent study which, apart from the advantages of a well-ordered University as a school and discipline of manners, constitute the chief value of its training. There were, however, so many interests involved in keeping things in the grooves in which they had so long run,—so many prejudices to be overcome,—so many varieties of opinion as to the proper direction of reform to be reconciled; it was at the same time so desirable that reform should emanate from the University itself, and not be wrung from it by the impetuosity of too sweeping reformers outside, that the Prince felt he must proceed cautiously and with a tempered haste in the task he had set himself of enlarging and liberalising the cycle of studies, and improving the manner in which they were to be conducted.

While the necessity for this caution was still further enforced by the fact, that any decided action initiated by the Prince would have been viewed with great jealousy by many of those who were still sore at the defeat of the candidate whom they had supported against him, he was encouraged in his efforts by the warm sympathy of many of the most distinguished and influential men of the University. These regarded it as of happy omen, that one 'so very near the throne,—one who has so deep a stake in the prosperity of our beloved country,' should be 'pledged to support and foster our academic institutions.' So wrote Professor Sedgwick (9th April, 1847). A month before, Dr. Whewell, the Master of Trinity, had written: 'I am persuaded the Uni-

versity at large looks upon your Royal Highness's acceptance of the office of Chancellor as highly auspicious, and likely to be of the greatest benefit to the University, both in the conduct of its affairs in its usual course, and also in introducing improvements in its system, if such should be found needful.' In the same letter Dr. Whewell enclosed an elaborate Memorandum, in which he had embodied his own views as to the direction in which the University studies should be enlarged, 'so as to include some of the most valuable portions of modern science and literature.'

The Prince gave his best thought to the proposals in Dr. Whewell's Memorandum, and he also took pains to ascertain the views of men eminent in literature, in science, and in the practical world of politics, whose attention had been turned to the question of University Reform. Having thus matured his own ideas, he determined, in October, 1847, to take active steps towards accomplishing the desired result, in which he was by this time aware that he would be well supported within the University itself. Accordingly he addressed the following letter to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Philpott (now Bishop of Worcester):—

'Windsor Castle, 14th October, 1847.

'My dear Vice-Chancellor,—Naturally anxious to trace the course of studies and scientific inquiries pursued at Cambridge at this time, I feel desirous of being furnished with a comprehensive table, showing the scheme of tuition in the Colleges separately and the University for the ensuing year. I mean the subjects to be taught in the different Colleges, the authors to be read there, the subjects for examination, those selected for competition and prizes, and the lectures to be given by the different professors in their different branches. Though fearing that the necessary inquiry connected with detailing and systematically arranging

such a table may entail some trouble upon you, still I thought that your position as Vice-Chancellor, and the ready attention with which you have hitherto answered my many inquiries, rendered you the fittest channel through which I might obtain the information which I now seek for.

'Believe me always,

'Yours truly,

'ALBERT.

'THE REV. DR. PHILPOTT, V. C., &c. &c. &c.'

The Prince, whose determination to accept the office of Chancellor had, as we have seen, been greatly influenced by the advice of Sir Robert Peel, naturally exchanged his ideas upon the subject of reform freely with one in whose sound practical judgment he felt the greatest confidence. He had placed in Sir Robert's hands the papers which he had collected upon the subject, and these were returned to him with the following letter:—

'Drayton Manor, 27th October [1847].

'Sir,—I have returned to your Royal Highness in a packet by the railway the papers you were good enough to place in my hands on the subject of University Education.

'They are very interesting, and confirm my previous impression, first, that the present system is defective in excluding many branches of knowledge which it is of the utmost importance to cultivate,—and, secondly, that great tact and management will be required in effecting any extensive reform.

'I think Dr. Whewell is quite wrong in his position—that mathematical knowledge is entitled to *paramount* consideration, because it is conversant with indisputable truths—that such departments of science as Chemistry are not proper subjects of academical instruction, because there is controversy respecting important facts and principles, and con-

stant accession of information from new discoveries—and danger that the students may lose their reverence for Professors, when they discover that the Professors cannot maintain doctrines as indisputable as mathematical or arithmetical truths.

'The Doctor's assumption, that *a century should pass* before new discoveries in science are admitted into the course of academical instruction, exceeds in absurdity anything which the bitterest enemy of University Education would have imputed to its advocates. Are the students at Cambridge to hear nothing of electricity, or the speculations concerning its mysterious influence, its possible connection with the nervous system and with muscular action, till all doubts on the subject are at end? Will they be at an end after the lapse of a hundred years? If the principle for which Dr. Whewell contends be a sound one, it will be difficult to deliver a lecture on theology. But the fact is, that adherence to the principle, so far from exalting the character of Professors and Heads of Houses, would cover them with ridicule.

'There can be nothing more useful to a young mind than to know the progressive discoveries of science, to have a history of Error and the slow process by which it was corrected, to hear of the conflicting theories of the present day —the points on which learned men differ, as well as those on which they are agreed; and the Professor who told the students these things,—who cautioned them against hasty conclusions,—who boldly avowed that the light was not yet separated from the darkness, would be much more estimated than one who lectured about nothing but the conic sections and quadratic equations, and such matters, although the latter proved everything that he asserted.

'I think the letter of your Royal Highness to the Vice-Chancellor, asking for information on certain points, is a

very becoming one. The answer to it will probably show diversities of system, which it will be difficult to reconcile, which escape observation, because each system is habitually contemplated by an eye which rarely embraces a wider scope than the horizon of a single College.

'My humble advice to your Royal Highness is to proceed with similar caution to that which has dictated this letter of inquiry—to confer separately with enlightened men, members of the University and attached to its interests; and, by gaining their confidence, to secure their co-operation in gradual improvement of the academical course and its adaptation to a more extended and more practical system of instruction.

'I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

'ROBERT PEEL.'

When the Prince received from Dr. Philpott a Memorandum of the information for which he had asked, he communicated it to Sir Robert Peel. 'With the exception of the omitted branches of knowledge the Report looks well on paper,' Sir Robert wrote (2nd November, 1847), but the question was—how did the system work out in practice?

'It is stated in the Report,' the letter continues, 'that the attendance on the ten courses of lectures therein last named is *voluntary*. In these ten courses are included:—

'1. Experimental Philosophy, including Pneumatics, Optics, the Theories of Light, &c. . . .

'2. Astronomy and Geometry.

'3. Natural and Experimental Philosophy.

'4. Geology and Mineralogy.

'They include, therefore, many of the most important branches of knowledge, and those which specially appertain to practical life.

'As the attendance on these lectures is voluntary, it would be interesting to know to what extent the attendance really takes place. Does not the devotion of time to other pursuits, in which great progress is requisite to ensure academical distinctions and advantages, discourage attention to those objects which are valuable only for themselves? When there is a great attendance, is it not casual and temporary—because the lecturer happens to be an accomplished and popular one? Is there the same encouragement to the lecturers in their department of science, the same prospect of academical advantages, which is held out to the lecturers and tutors in the more regular and accustomed studies of the University?

'The real state of the case would be better ascertained from the answers to these and similar questions than from a detail of the lectures which a student *may* attend if he pleases.

'I feel much gratified by your Royal Highness's kind expressions with regard to the satisfaction you derive from occasional personal communications with me. I assure your Royal Highness that the satisfaction (and I may truly say) the instruction and advantages are reciprocal. I shall ever retain a deep sense of the kindness and confidence on the part of the Queen and your Royal Highness with which I have been honoured.'

A few days after this letter was written, the Prince received a letter from Lord John Russell (12th December), in which his lordship suggested that some progress on the question of education for the higher classes might now be attempted. 'It would hardly be thought unreasonable or wrong,' Lord John wrote, 'if the Crown should appoint a Commission to inquire into the state of schools and colleges of Royal foundation, in order that Her Majesty might be informed how

far the benevolent views of her predecessors had been carried into effect, and what improvements could be made either by Royal authority or by Parliament. Trinity College, Cambridge, Christ Church, Oxford, Westminster and Eton, would enter into the objects of inquiry. Should your Royal Highness approve of this notion, I will before the close of the year lay a formal proposal on the subject before the Queen.'

To this letter the Prince replied the very next day, so anxious was he that the fair train in which the treatment of the question had been put should not be disturbed by extraneous agitation :—

'Windsor Castle, 13th November, 1847.

'My dear Lord John,—I received your letter referring to the University education yesterday evening. The subject had just in these last days occupied my attention. Feeling that it was time to move a little in the matter, and at the same time aware of the susceptibility of the academic body and their dread of any innovation, I confined myself to writing a letter to the Vice-Chancellor desiring him to have prepared for me a complete scheme of the tuition at Cambridge for the ensuing year, showing the subjects to be taught in the different colleges, the authors to be read there, the subjects for examination, those selected for competition and prizes, and the lectures to be given by the different Professors of the University in their different branches. Dr. Philpott, not without some trouble and difficulty, has prepared such a table for me, which I here enclose for your perusal.

'You will find that *on paper* the activity looks greater than in reality; but, even supposing all the studies there enumerated to be well followed up, the scheme is a very incomplete one. You will find, for instance, that at this moment, and this has been the case for some time, Political

Economy, Constitutional Law, Law of Nations, Metaphysics, Psychology, Comparative Physiology, Modern Languages, Oriental Languages, Old Languages (with the exception of Greek and Latin), Geography, Chemistry, Astronomy, Natural History (with the exception of Geology), History of Art, Æsthetics, and Counterpoint, are quite excluded. For some of these sciences the University has made provision, and there are professorships, but the present system of examination renders it impossible for the student to avail himself of them. For instance, the new Professor of Oriental Languages lectures this year upon Sanscrit, but he has got only *one* pupil.

'We had Dr. Philpott here staying with us a few days, and I had some full discussions with him, at the end of which he acknowledged the defects, but said that the Heads of Colleges were such a nervous and essentially conservative body, that it required the greatest caution in proposing any improvement not to rouse an insurmountable opposition; that all late attempts at improvement had failed from the ostentatious way in which they had been proposed; but that there were a great many of the leading men at Cambridge favourable to reforms in the system; and he at last consented to feel the pulse of the University, and report to me again.

'It is clear to me that the road to profit, honour, and distinction, being open only through the study of Mathematics and Classics, the offer of any lectures on other sciences will lead to no result, unless the system of examination be altered, and those sciences added to the cyclus in which students are examined, and the professors be admitted into the body of Examiners. Dr. Philpott entirely agrees in this, but says that the University attaches such *veneration* to the study of Mathematics, that any innovation tending (as they imagine) to lessen the attention to this

science is viewed with the greatest suspicion. Moreover, the College tutors and private tutors would not be able to teach or to examine in anything else.

'The following plan appeared to us a very feasible one. The medical students are examined in Chemistry, Botany, and Anatomy. The result, however, leads to no distinction. It might be proposed that a list showing their order of merit and proficiency should be published after each examination. This could not be opposed. After that has been carried, some other of the real sciences might be added to the examination, and later to the publication of the names of the most successful students. Then it might be proposed that in taking honours or degrees the success gained in those examinations should be taken into account in the competition, and perhaps that it is to be counted as *equal* to that gained in the examination in Classics and Mathematics. In this way the Professors would take a lead in examination, and would receive a share in the distribution of honours, the study of the different sciences might be followed by the students without prejudice to them, and by degrees these studies might be made compulsory, while at first it might be better to allow the student merely to attend them, and to carry the distinction he may have gained to his general account, when he takes a degree or competes for a Fellowship or a Scholarship.

'Dr. Philpott seems to know his brethren so well that I have great confidence in his proposed mode of working being in the end the most effectual, though appearing slow at first sight. He hopes to be able to do a great deal by very quiet canvass amongst the Heads of Houses, and means not to make any proposition in the senate before he is sure of carrying it, and then to make only one at a time.

'Under these circumstances I hope you will pause with the recommendation of a Royal Commission of Inquiry, till

we have seen whether any good can be effected in the way now proposed to be followed.

'Should this fail, your measure would be a very efficient one to fall back upon. I should say that an improvement will be most easily carried at Cambridge, and that Oxford will then have to follow from necessity. I am to hear soon from Dr. Philpott.

'Dr. Phelps is the new Vice-Chancellor, a young man said to be favourable to improvement.

'Ever yours truly,

'ALBERT.'

In Dr. Phelps the Prince soon found that he should have a staunch ally, and his correspondence with the Vice-Chancellor became most frank and cordial. The following letter in reply to one from Dr. Phelps asking for the Prince's instructions as to the gold medals usually given by the Chancellor for the best English poem and for proficiency in Classics, is only one of many which might be cited to show how watchful was the interest which the Prince maintained in the active work of the University:

'Osborne, 11th December, 1847.

'My dear Dr. Phelps,—I have received your communication about the Chancellor's medals for this year. I shall with pleasure continue these prizes, and even meditate adding a fourth for an *historical essay* to be contended for by graduates in the year immediately succeeding their taking their degrees. In the absence of all historical lectures this stimulus to the study of history appears to me of some importance. I shall have time to consider this more fully and should be glad to receive any suggestion from you. In the meantime the decision about the subject for the English poem presses, seeing that you must announce it within five days from this time. The theme for this year I should like

to see selected from our Northern mythology,[3] the British and Scandinavian being full of fine subjects, and being a field as yet little explored, though well deserving of attention. The death of Baldur, the deeds of Thor, the punishment of Loke, Odin's fight with the Giants, &c. &c. . . . might any one of them be appropriate.

'In the examination for the Classical medals I am inclined to think that expertness in philological criticism ought to weigh much in the decision upon the candidates' proficiency; this would encourage the young men rather to go deeper into the spirit and meaning of the classic languages and authors, than to learn appointed books by rote.

'Believe me always,

'My dear Dr. Phelps,

'Yours, &c. . . .

'ALBERT.'

On the Prince's suggestion Dr. Philpott now reduced to writing his views in regard to such reforms as were at once expedient and practicable. This was done in the form of a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, with whom Dr. Philpott was in complete accord. On receiving a copy of this letter through his secretary, the Prince wrote to Dr. Philpott: 'I must write myself a line to you in order to tell you how much the perusal of your letter to the Vice-Chancellor has pleased and interested me. I am confident that the adoption of your suggestions would be a great boon to the University. There is no sentence in your letter to which I do not agree.' The Prince wrote with Dr. Philpott's letter the same day to Lord John Russell, who returned it with his approval. On his lordship's suggestion it was submitted to the Archbishop of York. The time, his Grace acknowledged, had now come for action, and it was most desirable that this

[3] This was done. 'The Death of Baldur' was the subject chosen.

action should come from the University itself, within which 'the means and instruments of much improvement were already at hand, and needed merely to be called forth and exercised.' Happily the judicious course pursued for procuring a general concurrence of the most influential men of the University as to the character of the reforms to be aimed at made this a comparatively easy task. On the 4th of February, 1848, Dr. Philpott was able to announce to the Prince that on the 9th a Grace was to be offered to the senate for the appointment of a Syndicate 'to consider whether it is expedient to afford greater encouragement to the pursuit of those studies for the cultivation of which Professorships have been founded in the University; and, if so, by what means that object may be best accomplished.' This Syndicate, Dr. Philpott added, was composed 'of persons who have both the desire and the ability to devise improvements, and whose names at the same time will secure the confidence of the University.'

That the proposal should meet with opposition was to be expected. In communicating the result to the Prince (10th February) Dr. Phelps expressed his apprehension that 'very strong opposition to any important alterations must be anticipated.' But the Prince was too confident in the soundness of the cause, as well as too familiar with conflicts on the broader battle-field of politics, to be at all nervous as to the result. This is very obvious from his reply:

'Buckingham Palace, 16th February, 1848.

'My dear Dr. Phelps,—I have not had time till now to acknowledge the receipt of your letter announcing the welcome news of the Grace for the Syndicate having passed. Opposition there must be, and I was glad to see the large majority by which the measure was decided upon. I am sure you are right in anticipating more opposition to the

plan of reform itself, but as this will be chiefly directed against *a plan of reform*, whatever may be its extent, I trust that the intrinsic value of the measure will be kept up to a mark sufficiently high to have made it worth while to provoke and encounter that opposition. I hope soon to hear of the result of the meetings of the Syndicate, and wish only to remind you that while Parliament is sitting, and the enemies of the University may any moment take the initiative, there is *periculum in morâ*.

'Ever yours truly,

'ALBERT.'

No one can read the list of distinguished men who formed the Syndicate without seeing that the question of reform was now practically safe. At all events, the result proved that it was so. By the 8th of April they had agreed to report in favour of a scheme of studies broad enough to satisfy the demands of all moderate reformers. This, it was proposed, should not come into operation until the Michaelmas term of 1850. As, therefore, there was no reason for hurrying the decision of the Senate upon the subject, it was not brought before that body until the 31st October, after their minds had been fully prepared to receive it favourably. It was then carried by a triumphant majority. 'It has hardly ever been known,' says Dr. Phelps, in his letter announcing the result to the Prince, 'that so many votes should be given except on occasions of elections.' Writing to Colonel Phipps a few days later (3rd November), at the close of his year of office as Vice-Chancellor, after expressing his gratitude to the Prince for the attention bestowed upon everything which as Vice-Chancellor it had been his duty to bring before him, Dr. Phelps adds: 'The commencement of his Royal Highness's presidency over us is, I trust and believe, the date of a new and glorious era in our academic history,

an era that will be marked with liberality and extended usefulness.'

Knowing how deep the Prince had at heart the question which had been thus far advanced to a satisfactory solution, Lord John Russell was among the first to snatch a moment from the cares of office to send his congratulations. 'I wish,' he writes to Mr. Anson, 'you would lay before the Prince my congratulations on the success at Cambridge. It is an excellent beginning.' The press with one accord were loud in their acknowledgment of the triumph that had been achieved. *The Times* wrote:

'The change in the curriculum of Cambridge education, which was announced yesterday, has taken everybody by surprise. We knew the event must come, but we did not look for its attainment without a long and arduous struggle. . . . Many hundreds of young men, taken from the highest families in the three kingdoms, will every year have cause to bless the change, which opens a career to their praiseworthy desire for immediate distinction, and fits them for a more important sphere of action in after life. Whatever may be the profession or calling they may choose for the future, Cambridge now affords them a fitting nurture. . . . . But for one fortunate event the country might have waited long enough for the change which has opened so many sealed books to the curiosity and industry of the youth of England. The nation owes a debt of gratitude to the Prince Consort, the Chancellor of the University, for having been the first to suggest, and the most determined to carry out, the alteration in the Cambridge system.'

The *Examiner*, in one of those trenchant articles by which Mr. Fonblanque had made himself a power among journalists, spoke with no less warmth:—

'Of the five Graces offered to the senate of Cambridge University last Tuesday, three will long be selected for remembrance. By the first it was made incumbent on all candidates for a degree, in addition to the modicum of classics and mathematics at present

exacted, to attend at least one term of lectures in Laws, or Physics, or Moral Philosophy, or Chemistry, or Anatomy, or Modern History, or Botany, or Geology, or Natural or Experimental Philosophy, or English Law, or Medicine, or Mineralogy, or Political Economy, and to show a certificate of examination satisfactory to that one of the Professors whose lectures they may have chosen to attend. The choice of the particular science to be thus added to the book of Euclid, the chapter of Thucydides and the pittance of Christian Evidences, is left wholly to the student himself; but without its cultivation to this moderate extent, he cannot go in for his degree. The second and third Graces are more important. One established a new Honour Tripos in the Moral Sciences, and the other a new Honour Tripos in the Natural Sciences. For the first the places are to be determined by the examination in Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, Modern History, General Jurisprudence, and the Laws of England; and for the second, by an examination in Anatomy, Comparative Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, Botany, and Geology. . . .

'We have intimated that the Graces were opposed, but passed by decisive majorities. . . Wonderful is it, as Erasmus remarked on a similar occasion, how some men will cling to their old ignorance with their hands and feet, and not suffer themselves to be torn from it! and the number of such men would have prevailed on this occasion, we are gravely told, but for the influence of the new University Chancellor, his Royal Highness Prince Albert! The student of Saxe-Gotha is reported to have weighed Cambridge in the balance, to have found it out to be a sham, and to have resolved that some truth should be put into it. If this be so, we congratulate the country on its Prince and the University on its Chancellor; and are glad to find that the exuberant inaugurative festivities of Trinity College have borne solider fruit than a bishopric to Dr. Whewell.'

Even the wits of *Punch*, who had been by no means prone, up to this time, to recognise the merits of the Prince, could not withhold their tribute to his success upon the present occasion, and the pencil of Leech celebrated his

triumph in one of his most suggestive cartoons, with the inscription—

'H.R.H. Field-Marshal Chancellor Prince Albert taking the Pons Asinorum, after the manner of Napoleon taking the Bridge of Arcola.'

CHAPTER XXX.

The Chevalier Bunsen, with whom the Prince had frequently discussed the details of a desirable University Reform, writes to him on the 8th of November: 'I forgot yesterday to congratulate your Royal Highness on the success of your plan of Reform for Cambridge, which has been achieved with so much patience and persistency. A similar movement is now on foot for Oxford, through Arthur Stanley. Eight days ago, at the Literary Club Dinner, I led good Sir Harry Inglis and the Bishop of Oxford to speak of the start that had been taken by the sister University. I got [Professor] Owen to join in the conversation. Monsignor Wilberforce took the view, that the students, it might be feared, instead of studying the principles of the Natural Sciences, would only get formulas by heart. On this point Owen enlightened him, that the very reverse was intended. But I thought to myself, "And what will *you* do then? And if the young folks are (like yourselves) so unscientific, who is to blame?" But, in truth, the greatest physiologist or botanist may be a Dissenter, and how dare he teach in Oxford's sacred halls? . . . . In Rome itself I did not meet with more contracted notions, or rather with none so contracted, in so far as the Natural Sciences are concerned.'

Singularly enough, on the very same day 'Monsignor Wilberforce,' in writing to the Prince, with a copy of a Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese, says: 'Few things could give me greater pleasure than to know that it appeared to

your Royal Highness calculated in its measure to aid that great work of national improvement which is, I know, so near your heart. Knowing the interest your Royal Highness feels in academic improvement, I have ventured to enclose a pamphlet published by a friend of mine at Oxford, with the view of gaining for our University the advantages just won in our sister University.'

On such a subject the Bishop of Oxford knew that he would have a willing listener in the Prince, and he continued to acquaint him from time to time with whatever was done at Oxford towards widening the sphere and improving the method of study there. They had long known each other. The Prince, who shared the general admiration for the genius and learning of Dr. Wilberforce, as well as for his brilliant social qualities, had previously consulted him confidentially on more occasions than one. On the other hand, Dr. Wilberforce had early learned to appreciate the high aims of the Prince, and the noble spirit, no less than the ability, with which they were pursued. Three years before, and while Dr. Wilberforce was still Dean of Westminster, the Prince had, at his request, put upon paper his views as to the proper functions of a Bishop in the House of Lords. Had not Dr. Wilberforce been before aware of the high qualities of his correspondent, this letter would have convinced him how rare was the good fortune, not merely to the Queen, but also to the nation, which had placed its writer in a position to serve both to the noblest ends. It ran thus :—

'Windsor Castle, 19th October, 1845.

'My dear Dean,—I had intended to commit to paper for you my views upon the position of a Bishop in the House of Lords, but gave up the idea, fearing that it might appear presumptuous on my part. Anson, however, tells me that

he is sure you would not consider it as such, and would be pleased if I were still to do it. I accordingly resume the pen.

'A Bishop ought to abstain completely from mixing himself up with the politics of the day, and beyond giving a general support to the Queen's Government, and occasionally voting for it, should take no part in the discussion of State affairs (for instance, Corn Laws, Game Laws, Trade or Financial questions); but he should come forward whenever the interests of humanity are at stake, and give boldly and manfully his advice to the House and country (I mean questions like Negro emancipation, education of the people, improvement of the health of towns, measures for the recreation of the poor, against cruelty to animals, for regulating factory labour, &c. &c.).

'As to religious affairs, he cannot but take an active part in them, but let that always be the part of a *Christian*, not of a mere *Churchman;* let him never forget the insufficiency of human knowledge and wisdom, and the impossibility for any man, or even Church, to say, "I am right, I alone am right." Let him, therefore, be meek, and liberal, and tolerant to other confessions, but let him never forget that he is a representative of the Church of the Land, the maintenance of which is as important to the country as that of its constitution or its throne. Let him here always be conscious that the Church has duties to fulfil, that it does not exist for itself, but for the people, for the country, and that it ought to have no higher aim than to be the Church of the people. Let there be, therefore, no calling for new rights, privileges, grants, &c., but show the zeal and eagerness of the Church to stretch her powers and capabilities to the utmost for the fulfilment of her sacred duties to the people in ministering and teaching.

'A Bishop ought to be uniformly a peace-maker, and when

he can, it is his duty to lessen political or other animosities, and remind the Peers of their duties as Christians. He ought to be a guardian of public morality, not, like the Press, by tediously interfering with every man's private affairs, speaking for applause, or trampling on those that are fallen, but by watching over the morality of the State in acts which expediency or hope for profit may tempt it to commit, as well in Home and Colonial as in Foreign affairs. He should likewise boldly admonish the public even against its predominant feeling, if this be contrary to the purest standard of morality (reproving, for instance, the recklessness and wickedness of the proprietors of Railway Schemes, who, having no funds themselves, acquire riches at the expense of others, their dupes).[1] Here the nation is in the greatest danger, as every individual gets corrupted and every sense of shame is lost.

'In this way the Bishops would become a powerful force in the Lords, and the country would feel that their presence there supplies a great want, and is a great protection to the people.

'I have spoken as thoughts have struck me, and am sure you will be better able than I am to take a comprehensive view of the position.

'Ever yours truly,

'ALBERT.'

No one could read this letter[2] and not feel that the Prince, who at the age of twenty-six could write it, was sure to exert in time a great influence for good, not only on society, but

[1] The reckless gambling in the shares of projected railways, which prevailed at the time this letter was written, was naturally present to the Prince's mind. In other forms the same spirit lives, and seems likely to live, to debase society and to drag down to ruin the dupes of financial jugglers.

[2] By the courtesy of Mr. Reginald G. Wilberforce, we are enabled to make use of this letter, which would otherwise have been made first public in the forthcoming Life of his father, Bishop Wilberforce.

on the whole public life of the country. To Dr. Wilberforce it was only one proof among many of the noble and ever-active mind of its writer, whose constant study, he well knew, was how he might best fulfil the high duties to which he had been called.

The Cambridge success came like a gleam of sunshine amid the clouds that continued to hang darkly upon the political sky. In England itself the worst was past. Chartism was practically silenced, and symptoms of reviving trade were beginning to be observed. Men were getting to work again in the manufacturing districts, and the prospects for the coming winter were gradually improving. But in Ireland there was little change for the better. Lord Clarendon, who had come over for a few days in October to take counsel with the Government as to the state of affairs, had an interview with the Prince. The facts which he communicated were regarded by the Prince as of so much importance, that he embodied them in the following Memorandum:

'Windsor Castle, 30th October, 1848.

'To-day I saw Lord Clarendon, who has come over from Ireland on leave. The description he gives of the state of that country is most gloomy and distressing. The rebellion is put down, but the spirit among the people is still the same, and any agitator will have them all at his command. Arms are concealed, and murders and outrages of every kind happen daily—even highway robbery, a crime hitherto quite unknown in Ireland. . . . Remarkable is the fact that the Roman Catholic clergy have lost lately all influence over the people. Their agitating and urging to rebellion, and, when the day came, flinching from it, has enraged the populace. The immediate consequence of this is, that the priests can get no dues or other payment, and that in some places

they are actually starving. Lord Clarendon knows an instance of a priest (who had formerly been very influential), not having been able to leave his house for a week together from the want of a pair of shoes, which he not even saw a glimpse of hope before him to procure. Another threw himself upon the mercy of Lord Westmeath (the great enemy of the Roman Catholics and the priests), imploring him to let him have a few oats for sustaining his life.

'This tallies with the opinion entertained by Lord Heytesbury and others, that political agitation under Mr. O'Connell's guidance was necessary to the priest, in order to collect dues or other supplies under the name of Repeal Rent.

'The Bishops have protested against Church Endowment, being themselves well off, but the clergy would gratefully accept it, if offered, but dare not avow this.[3] The Pope (prompted by McHale, who is still at Rome) has issued a new condemnation of the Colleges.

'Lord Clarendon looks forward to the winter with perfect dismay. The poverty is dreadful, and he is afraid that a great part of the population must die from absolute want. They grow nothing but potatoes, in spite of every experience and caution, and these have failed again entirely.[4] Lord Clarendon knows an instance of a man having sown wheat which had come up beautifully, and ploughing it up again for potatoes, because he saw the potatoes of his neighbour look tolerably well.

'There is emigration going on, but of those people only whom one would wish to keep—farmers with one or two

[3] The question whether in the interests of the State it might not be expedient to endow the Roman Catholic clergy, was at this time under the consideration of the Government, who subsequently decided not to move in the matter.

[4] The failure of the potato crop of 1848 was as complete as that of 1846, and coming as it did upon a people already impoverished and enfeebled by distress, the results were even more disastrous.

hundred pounds in their pocket. They cut the corn on the Sunday, sell it on Monday morning, and are off in the evening to America, having driven off and sold before all their cattle, leaving the waste fields behind them, and the landlords without rent. The landlords are oppressed to a dreadful degree by poor-rates, which must be levied to keep the population alive, but which they cannot afford any longer to pay, in debt as they always have been, exhausted by the pressure of the two last years, and left entirely without rent.'

The reports which continued to come in from Ireland during the next two months presented a pitiable picture of the condition and prospects both of proprietors and tenants. A great breadth of land had been left uncropped. The peasantry were in many places without money, or the means of earning it. The rate of wages was fivepence a day, but comparatively few could get employment even at this low scale. Food in the markets was, no doubt, abundant and cheap, but, as the labouring classes were without work and without wages, it was as much beyond their reach as though it had been scarce and dear. Famine in this way seemed likely to reign in the midst of plenty, for the pressure on the poor-rates threatened to increase, while already it was described as heavier, in many of the unions, than either landlords or tenants could bear. Some of the best of the landlords, in addition to their full share of the rates, were adding to their own difficulties by giving employment on works which, if not wholly unprofitable to their estates, were at least such as prudence would in ordinary circumstances have postponed. The hardship of their case struck the Prince as so great, that he brought the subject under the notice of Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, in the following letter:

'My dear Sir George,—I have to thank you for the com-

munication of the enclosed reports from Ireland, which seem to show that that unhappy country may be considered at this moment in an *average* state of misery and criminality. The unequal pressure of the poor-rates, and apparent injustice and depreciating effect in the levying them equally upon the landlord who gives employment and the one who gives none, make me think that it will be absolutely necessary for the Government to hold out a premium for employment. I know, and fully feel, how difficult this would be to carry out, but I should still hope that some scheme might be hit upon which would answer.

'Could a landlord, for instance, who takes a certain number of persons away from the poor-law relief by offering them work, *which work is manifestly undertaken for the purpose of relief, and not such as the estate would necessarily call for*, be allowed a commensurate diminution in his payment of rates? Some such *bonus* might induce people to lay out capital for beneficial purposes, while the maintenance by the poor law of the labourers out of employment is wholly unproductive, and few people are able to do both—give the employment and pay the rates—especially if they can justly apprehend that other people would use their patriotism to charge them with burdens from which they hope thereby to escape. Perhaps the Government grants for drainage, &c. &c., might afford peculiar facilities for some such condition.

'Ever yours truly,
(Signed) 'ALBERT.

'Windsor Castle, 22nd December, 1848.'

The practical difficulties of applying a different scale to the varying circumstances of each case made it impossible to effect the very desirable object pointed at in this letter. But the unequal pressure of the poor-rates was greatly modi-

fied by the legislation of the ensuing session, which provided for a general rate in aid, levied throughout the country; and the letter itself is quoted less for its intrinsic interest than as illustrative of the close attention given by Her Majesty and the Prince to all matters of public importance, and of the independent thought which they were in the habit of bringing to bear upon them.

Ireland's maladies, the Prince knew well, were not of a kind to be quickly cured. Hers was of all others a case in which 'the patient must minister to himself.' Land turned to good account, which had hitherto been turned to the worst,—a population not in excess of the means of employment and subsistence,—habits of steady industry and self-respect, taking the place of thriftless improvidence and the wild impulses of vindictive passion,—security for life and property supplanting lawlessness and cowardly assassination, —encouragement to men of means and energy to invest their capital in developing the great natural resources of the country,—the spread of sound knowledge to destroy the malign influence of those who inflamed her people with mad dreams of old wrongs to be avenged, and of the blessings of a separate nationality,—these were changes which a Government might guide, but which the nation itself could alone effect. In any case, they must be of slow growth; and whatever the good will and active aid of the sister kingdom could do towards making Ireland all that the best of her sons could wish, that country had good reason to know, from recent experience, would not be wanting.[5]

In the meantime, the internal tranquillity of the country

[5] The Government expended in relief to Ireland, in consequence of the famine of 1846-7-8, no less than 9,532,721*l.*, besides granting 1,191,187*l.* in loans for drainage and land improvement, and paying 42,673*l.* for the freight of food sent from the United States. The private subscriptions for relief from London alone were 641,247*l.* (See *Transactions of the Central Relief Committee, Society of Friends.* Hodges and Smith: Dublin, 1852.)

had been secured. Disaffection continued to smoulder in some of the districts of the south and west; but in Ireland, no less than in England, all apprehension of serious disturbance from political agitation was at an end. Very different was the aspect of affairs upon the European continent, where as yet only small progress had been made towards the restoration of harmony between the governments and their people.

In Vienna, indeed, as we have seen, the revolutionists had been put down; but Austria was now engaged in a war with her Hungarian subjects, which, although unbroken success attended her arms for a time, was soon to tax to the uttermost all the resources of the Empire. Undaunted by disaster, the Magyars, under the guidance of Kossuth, continued the struggle with indomitable courage and perseverance, until at last they wooed victory to their side. Defeat after defeat was inflicted by them upon the Imperial forces in the beginning of 1849; and they succumbed only when overborne by the united armies of their Emperor and of the Russian Czar, whose aid, invoked by Austria in a moment of despair, she had cause to remember for many a day, not without shame and certainly with regret. But towards the close of 1848 her power, so recently threatened with eclipse, was once more in the ascendant. It had been re-established in Italy. The revolt of her Sclavonian subjects also was at an end, and no more devoted soldiers were now to be found in the Imperial ranks. Although, too, the party of revolution had been crushed, the government had apparently not failed to learn wisdom from the events of the year. A new spirit entered into their councils, and the necessity for comprehensive reforms in a liberal direction was frankly recognised. Conscious that a stronger hand than his was needed to guide the destinies of the kingdom in the new epoch on which it had entered, the Emperor Ferdinand, upon the 30th

of December, fulfilled a purpose, which he had for some time entertained, by abdicating in favour of his nephew. The first proclamation of the young Emperor, who was then only in his eighteenth year, seemed to show that a new order of things had begun; for it avowed his conviction of 'the necessity and value of free institutions,' framed 'upon the basis of the equality of rights of all his people, of the equality of all citizens before the law, and of their right to partake both for representation and legislation.' A powerful government, under Prince Felix of Schwarzenberg, addressed itself with vigour to the task of restoring order, and uniting the distracted sections of the Empire into one integral state; and their efforts were seconded by a nation glad to find itself, after months of miserable disorder and uncertainty, once more under the guidance of trained statesmen with a settled policy and the firmness to enforce it.

The troubles of Austria in Italy were, however, by no means at an end; and her position there was the cause of no small disquietude to Europe. On the outbreak of the Milanese revolt, she would willingly have disembarrassed herself of Lombardy. But seeing how sorely pressed she then was at home, those who had set their hearts upon the formation of a kingdom of Northern Italy, with Charles Albert at its head, believed that she might either be persuaded by diplomatic pressure into a surrender of her Venetian provinces also, or, failing this, be compelled by the fortune of war to retire beyond the Alps. Driven to her defence, she had shown that her Italian territories were not to be wrested from her by force; and although she might easily have pursued her victory over the Piedmontese to the gates of their capital, she had forborne to do so. There were strong motives for this forbearance; for an advance into Piedmont would probably have provoked the armed intervention of France in support of the Italian Republican

movement. In the prevailing temper of men's minds there, such a step would have been taken upon the slighest provocation ; and, once taken, who could say what other parties might not be drawn into the conflict? It, therefore, became the paramount object of Lord Palmerston's diplomacy to avert such a calamity. With this view, he succeeded in engaging the French Government to combine with him in an offer of mediation between Austria and Piedmont as the surest means of preventing any independent movement upon Italy by the war party in France. Piedmont readily accepted the mediation, trusting that the good offices of the mediators might secure from Austria a renewal of the offer of her Lombard provinces, which had formerly been volunteered ; while Austria, on the other hand, was not sorry to accept a mediation, which gave her breathing time to deal with her perplexities elsewhere.

Of the vast number of Despatches already referred to, which Lord Palmerston received and wrote in 1848, no small proportion was directed to this question. The failure of the movement in Northern Italy had been both a surprise and a disappointment to him. Strongly convinced as he was, that Austria's Italian provinces were a source rather of weakness than of strength, and that her ultimate surrender of them before the aspirations which had been awakened in Italy for national unity and independence, could only be a question of time, it was natural he should cling to the hope, that a peaceable solution of the Italian question might be arrived at through the mediation of England and France. But of this hope he must have been disabused, as soon as the basis on which the mediation was to proceed came to be discussed. Austria was no longer in the position, which had induced her to offer terms through M. Hummelauer in May. She had been challenged to fight for her provinces ; she had fought and conquered. To have surrendered what

had been upheld at the cost of so much blood and treasure to her Cisalpine subjects was more than could be expected from her, while the passions which the struggle had evoked were still warm, and above all, while Piedmont and the national party still maintained an attitude of menace towards her. Her answer accordingly to every proposition to enlarge the basis of mediation was decided. On no terms would she discuss the question of territory. What Piedmont should pay to her as indemnity for the costs of the war, and under what other terms that country should be placed as a guarantee for future peace, were in her view the only proper subjects for the Conference. Reduced to these proportions, the proposed mediation became little less than absurd. It could effect no result which might not as easily be arrived at by negotiation between Austria and Piedmont themselves. Nevertheless, the idea of mediation was persisted in, and infinite diplomatic finesse was expended in arranging a conference at Brussels to discuss its terms. But in the meanwhile other agencies were at work, stronger than any which diplomacy could bring to bear, which were destined to take the settlement of the Italian question out of its hands, and to subject it to the arbitrament of arms, with results more fatal than before to the hopes of the national party.

The defeat of the Piedmontese in Northern Italy in August had been followed by fresh outbreaks of revolutionary violence in Tuscany and the Papal States. Baffled in their hopes of emancipation from Austrian rule, the people turned in fury against their government, which had so long leaned upon Austria for support. Mazzini and his followers did not affect to conceal their triumph that a movement had failed, which had been headed by a king, and which, if successful, would have been fatal to their cherished dreams. A confederacy of small republics, each giving scope for the

ambition of the many improvised statesmen, whom the revolution had brought to the front, was the object at which they aimed, and the way seemed now open to them to attain it. Austria, held in check, as they believed her to be, by the sympathies of England and France with the cause of Italian independence, was not likely to cross the frontiers in support of the governments of either Florence or Rome, and these, it was soon shown, were absolutely powerless. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, overawed by the violence of the extreme Liberals, had virtually ceased to rule. At Rome, Count Rossi, formerly French Ambassador there, had undertaken the formation of a Liberal Cabinet. He was carrying out the correction of abuses, and the establishment of practical reforms with a vigour, which might have succeeded in restoring order and in satisfying every reasonable demand, when he was struck down in open day (15th December), by the stiletto of an assassin as he was entering the Chamber, before a vast crowd, who neither interposed to save him, nor to arrest his murderer. Next day the Pope was attacked in the Quirinal by a revolutionary mob, supported by the Civic Guard, to the number of several thousands. They were gallantly held in check by the Papal Swiss Guard, until, when they had brought up cannon, and blown in the gates, the Pope ordered the firing to cease. A list was then presented to him by the insurgents of a new Ministry, at the head of which were Mamiani and Galtelli, two of the most conspicuous revolutionary leaders. This the Pope had no alternative but to sign, and although he did so under protest, he had to submit in silence to seeing a government, which he repudiated, carried on in his name. His position became insupportable, and he resolved on flight. Closely watched as he was, however, to quit Rome was a matter of extreme difficulty; and it was not till the 25th of December that His Holiness was able to effect his escape. On the afternoon of that day

he contrived, with the assistance of the Bavarian Minister, to pass the gates of Rome, dressed as a Chasseur, on the box of that gentleman's carriage. Driving, still in disguise, to Cività Vecchia, he embarked there on board a French steamer, and succeeded in reaching Gaëta without interference, where he threw himself upon the protection of the King of Naples.

Finding that the Pope turned a deaf ear to their appeals to him to return to his dominions, the revolutionary leaders now determined to declare his sovereignty at an end. The Ministry of Mamiani had to make way for another of more advanced views, and a Constituent Assembly was summoned for the purpose of organising a Republic. The success of their party at Rome gave fresh ardour to the republicans of the North, who, untaught by the lesson of the recent campaign, were bent upon renewing the struggle with Austria. Public sentiment throughout Piedmont was wholly with them; and the pressure of popular clamour became so great, that the government at Turin, who foresaw only fresh disaster in the event of another campaign, were compelled to give way before it. A new Ministry, notoriously favourable to a fresh trial of strength with Austria, took their places (15th December); and, whatever might be said of the salutary mediation of England and France, it required little sagacity to predict, that a renewal of hostilities could not long be averted. Vain as it was, and as her statesmen must have known it to be, for Austria to expect that she could ever make good subjects out of the Italians, she was in no mood to take the magnanimous, which in this case would have been also the prudent, course, of letting them pass from under her dominion on such equitable terms as the neutral Powers might have adjusted. Nor, on the other hand, were the Italians at all disposed to entertain such terms, while their leaders kept alive the belief that they could compel Austria by force of

arms to make an unconditional surrender of her hold upon Italian soil.

Whilst Central and Northern Italy were thus falling every day into more hopeless confusion through the ascendancy of republican doctrines, France, which had been the arena of their earliest triumph, had begun to show her impatience of the tyranny of the minority, which within the last few months had made pitiable havoc of her fortunes.[6] The country yearned for peace, and for a stable Government. After months of debate, the Assembly had, on the 4th of November, voted a Constitution. They had previously decided (7th October), that the choice of a President should be referred to the people. The candidates were Prince Louis Napoleon, Generals Cavaignac and Changarnier, Ledru Rollin, Raspail and Lamartine, all, excepting Prince Napoleon, more or less identified with the revolution. That this was likely to prove fatal to their claims, had been foreseen; but no one was prepared for the overwhelming preponderance of suffrages which were given to the Prince. General Cavaignac, who, besides the influence due to his position, had many claims on the gratitude of the nation, was able to secure only 1,448,107 votes, while for Prince Napoleon they amounted to the enormous number of 5,334,226. Next to Cavaignac came Ledru Rollin with 370,119 votes; while the socialist Raspail brought up the rear with 36,226, Lamartine with 19,900, and General Changarnier with only 4,700. From these figures it was clear that the nation was determined to rest its hopes, not in the men of the revolution, but in one who was associated with none of its calamities, and whose expressed convictions

[6] The expenses of the year 1848 were 1,802,000,000 francs (nearly double what they had been in the last years of Charles X.), while the receipts were only 1,383,000,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 419,000,000. No less than 270,000,000 francs were absorbed by the extra expenses of the Provisional Government and the National Assembly.

concurred with his personal interest in binding him to rest for support upon the great body of the nation, and not upon any section of political partisans.

The English Government had been for some time prepared by their agents in France to expect the return of Prince Napoleon as President. Lord Palmerston, who had known him in England, thought highly of his capacity for government, and was predisposed to believe in his attachment to the English alliance. In his very able appeal to the electors, the Prince had spoken most strongly in favour of a policy of peace, which might enable the country to repair its broken fortunes, and leave the Government free to restore the feeling of internal security. On his accession to power he lost no time in renewing his assurances on all these points to Lord Normanby, our Ambassador in Paris; and he gave early evidence of his sincerity, by adopting cordially the policy of joint action with England in Italy, the only quarter from which immediate danger to the peace of Europe was to be apprehended. In his first interview with Lord Normanby, the Prince had spoken with entire frankness of the difficulties which he apprehended at home. 'Oh,' he exclaimed, 'if we had but your respect for the law!' adding, that no Frenchman had any idea of this. M. Thiers, he went on to say, had remarked, in speaking to him a few days before, 'You, sir, are just like a Prince of the House of Bourbon,' giving as his reason for the remark, that the Prince 'had come back from England with such ideas of legality and liberty combined.' '*C'est mon éloge, que vous me faites*,' had been the Prince's rejoinder. In reporting this interview to Lord Palmerston, Lord Normanby mentions that it left upon his mind a most favourable impression of the Prince's tact and judgment. 'He expressed a great hope that you would be favourably disposed towards him,' Lord Normanby adds, 'as you had been upon different

occasions very kind to him. He is very unlike a Frenchman in one thing, that he does not seem in the slightest degree elated by his extraordinary elevation, but talks of it all as if he were only a bystander.'[7]

Eagerly as the swift succession of events in France, Italy, and Austria was noted by the Prince Consort, even more eagerly and anxiously was his attention fixed on what was now passing in Germany. In Berlin the crisis had been reached, which a series of weak concessions to the turbulence of the extreme Radicals had rendered inevitable. Between March and September no fewer than three Ministries, each more pliable to democratic clamour than its predecessor, had been formed and fallen. As with each of these changes the Government became weaker and weaker, the disorder which had reigned in Berlin since March grew worse and worse. Trade was at a standstill, the chief manufactories were closed, and distress added to the numbers of desperate men, with whom revolution was a trade, who thronged the streets, and were intent on subverting all existing institutions. Riot and rapine made life in the capital a burden; and the Assembly, emboldened by the feebleness of the Executive, had by the 31st of October got the length of resolving 'that neither privileges, titles, nor rank were to exist in the State, and that nobility was abolished.' After such a declaration, a denial of the supremacy of the Crown was obviously not far off. The red flag was hoisted before the door of the Assembly; and the mob, who had many sympathisers within the Chamber, had even broken into the Hall of Assembly, equipped with ropes, nails, and nooses, threatening the Conservative members with death, and even handling roughly some of their own party whom they suspected of having grown lukewarm in the popular cause. The Pfuel Administration, the fourth since

[7] Unpublished Letter by Lord Normanby to Lord Palmerston, dated 22nd December, 1848, communicated to the Queen at the time.

March, feeling itself unable to cope with the emergency, of which this last outbreak was significant, resigned.

For the King to have hesitated longer would have been to abandon the welfare of the kingdom to the dictates of a miserable faction. Concession had brought his authority into contempt, and a series of Liberal Administrations had led the country to the brink of ruin. A different line of policy was now resolved on, and adhered to. On the 9th of November a new Ministry, of avowedly Conservative principles, under the leadership of Count Brandenburg, was announced. Not an hour was lost in bringing to issue the question which the Assembly had raised,—'Was the feeling of the country with them or with the King?' The very day his nomination as First Minister was announced, Count Brandenburg appeared in the Assembly. Not being a member, when he rose to speak the President stopped him. Upon this he handed in a Royal Decree, and sat down. It was read, and threw the Assembly into a paroxysm of rage, as they heard their sittings transferred by it to the town of Brandenburg, where they would be free from intimidation, and suspended until the 29th of the month. Cries of 'Never! Never! We will not consent! Rather perish here!' resounded through the hall. Heedless of the tumult, the Count rose, and having in the name of the Crown summoned the Assembly to suspend its sittings forthwith, and adjourn to the time and place named in the Royal Decree, he left the Chamber, followed by the Ministers and fifty-nine of the members.

Those who remained passed a series of resolutions defiant of the Decree, and declared that they should sit in permanence. Thirty of their number remained in the Hall throughout the night, and the rest of the body were to return betimes on the following morning. On arriving, however, they found their entrance barred by a strong body of troops, under the command of General von Wrangel.

Whoever was in might come out, but no one could go in. 'How long do you mean to keep your troops here?' Von Wrangel was asked. 'A week, if necessary; my men are used to bivouacking!' Further argument was superfluous. The members were desired by their President to retire under protest and meet elsewhere next day. They did so meet, to the number of two hundred and twenty-five, at the Hall of the Schützen Gild, cheered by the mob, and protected by a strong party of that Burgher Guard to make way for whom the King had in March withdrawn the troops from Berlin. In the course of the day a proclamation appeared dissolving this body, and calling on them to give up their arms. This order they announced their determination to disregard, upon which it was renewed the next day in more peremptory terms; and before nightfall 30,000 troops, trained and eager to act, had been concentrated in Berlin, and the city declared in a state of siege.

In Paris, in Prague, and more recently in Vienna, blood had flowed in torrents when soldiers and citizens had thus been brought face to face. But Berlin was happily spared this calamity. The popular leaders, feeling themselves to be in the grasp of an overwhelming force, did not venture to provoke a collision, while, on the other hand, the soldiers, consisting in a great measure of the Landwehr, did their work firmly, but with exemplary forbearance. Their first task was to enforce the decree in reference to the Assembly, or Rump Parliament, as it had already begun to be called. Its refractory members having met once more at the Schützen Hall on the 13th, they were summoned by one of General von Wrangel's officers to disperse as being 'an illegal assembly.' To this they answered as with one voice, 'Never, until forced by arms!' Three officers now entered the hall, followed by a body of soldiers. The summons was repeated, and received with the same vociferous defiance. Without a

word the officers advanced, and, lifting the chair on which the President was sitting, carried it with its occupant into the street. The members followed. On the 15th they met again in the Town Hall, and having been again compelled to withdraw, they re-assembled the same evening, at a Café, from which also they were dislodged, not, however, until they had resolved by acclamation, that no taxes should be levied, until they could safely resume their sittings in the capital.

This Resolution was not merely futile in itself; it also brought strongly into relief the fact, that the Assembly had by its violence and want of business habits forfeited the hold which it undoubtedly for a time had upon the public mind. The Resolution fell dead; and the taxes were paid and collected, as though it had never been passed. It was condemned, moreover, by the great body of Liberals throughout the kingdom, for they had no desire to push matters to extremity with a Sovereign who had shown no hostility to Liberal reforms. Meanwhile, tranquillity was being steadily restored in Berlin. Sullenly the Burgher Guard submitted to be disarmed. Several of the leaders of the late tumults, chiefly foreigners, were arrested. Order once more reigned in the city, and made more conspicuous the desolation of its closed shops, its empty houses and its deserted streets—a desolation wrought by seven months of reckless political agitation. Still the Assembly existed, and had to be dealt with. It had been appointed to frame a new Constitution; but months had been passed in idle talk, and the Constitution was as far from being settled as ever. It was time this dangerous farce should end. How to end it legally was alone the question. When the Assembly resumed its sittings at Brandenburg on the day appointed, they solved it by furnishing the Government with the justification which it wanted for closing the career of a body that had long ceased to represent

the mind of the nation. By this time, too, the Government was ready with the draft of a Constitution to which no Liberal could reasonably take exception, identical as it was in all essentials with that of Belgium. This was a contingency for which the Opposition were not prepared. They had adjourned to meet on the 7th of December; but on the 5th they found themselves, to their dismay, dissolved by Royal Proclamation, and their discomfiture was completed by the promulgation on the same day of the draft of the new Constitution. Their rage at finding themselves thus checkmated exploded in some outbreaks in the streets. But these, although quelled at a sacrifice of life, happily a small one, served only to show to what narrow proportions the party of revolution had now dwindled. The crisis was past; and by the close of the year the authority of the Crown had been thoroughly re-established.

The events in Vienna and Berlin reacted upon the National Assembly at Frankfort, who had at length made progress with the task assigned to them of framing a new Constitution for Germany. Its anti-monarchical members were in a decided minority, and the propositions that Austria should remain part of the New Germany, and her Emperor be the Central Power, were rapidly losing favour with the majority. It had begun to be generally recognised that Austria's interests were at once too remote, and too complicated with those of the non-German races under her sway, to make either of these results desirable, and that the New Germany, to be strong, must consist of purely German elements, and her Imperial interests be entrusted to the hands of a purely German Sovereign. Austria had, moreover, through her Prime Minister Schwarzenberg, announced it to be her policy to consolidate her Empire, as it stood, with reference to specifically Austrian interests. Was it not right, therefore, that Germany should act upon the same principle;

—consolidate her purely German States, and ensure their being governed with an exclusive view to the welfare of the United Empire?

While the majority of the Assembly were gravitating towards this conclusion, the effective restoration of government authority at Berlin came to remove any lingering doubt, that it was to Prussia they must look for the Central Power, which should take the place of that provisionally occupied by the Reichsverweser. Heinrich von Gagern accepted the office of First Minister under the Reichsverweser early in December, announcing this as the keystone of his policy, and with a strong conviction, which the result justified, that he would carry the Assembly along with him.

But was it certain, that the New Constitution, or the New Central Power, would be accepted either by Austria, or by the other Sovereigns interested? This had become a grave question. The panic had greatly abated under which they had dissolved the old Diet, and recognised the transfer of all its powers to the Constituent Assembly at Frankfort. The revolutionary flame still smouldered throughout Germany, and indeed it was mainly kept down by the belief which still prevailed, that effect would be loyally given by the Sovereigns to the national sentiment as it should be ultimately expressed through the Assembly. But, the pressure of immediate danger having been removed, the old dynastic ideas were beginning to reassert themselves, and those who looked below the surface saw very clearly, that serious consequences were likely to ensue, if the Sovereigns failed to show that they were in unison with the national feeling, by co-operating frankly with the National Assembly in accomplishing the object for which it had been called into existence. The time had gone by for the Assembly to impose its laws upon the Sovereigns. Whatever moral force it might still possess, the material force was with the Sovereigns,

and, it had been shown, was ready to obey their commands. Would the Sovereigns be content to ignore this fact, and, casting aside their personal interests or hereditary prejudices, devote themselves to a simple consideration of what was best for the welfare of Germany as one great consolidated Empire?

No one was more alive than the Prince to the dangers of their refusal. On the 6th of December he embodied his views in a Memorandum which he sent to the Kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg; and in this he urged in the strongest terms, that, as the Assembly were now approaching the completion of their labours, the German Monarchs should forthwith meet at Frankfort, and in direct concurrence with the Assembly settle, first, the Constitution, and, next, the Central Power.

Being himself of truly princely nature, one 'who reverenced his conscience as his king,' and to whom it would have been impossible to go back from a pledge once given, this Memorandum was written and sent apparently without a doubt on the Prince's part, that the German Sovereigns were prepared to act in the spirit of their ostensible concurrence in the appointment of the Assembly, which, although emanating from a purely popular movement, had received their deliberate and most formal sanction. This belief, however, seems not to have been shared by Baron Stockmar, to whom the Memorandum was submitted. While heartily approving the object, the Baron says in the plainest terms in his reply (8th December), that he expects no good from the method proposed. He had information, as we now know, not then open to the Prince, which fully justified this conclusion. Austria, he knew, had been for some time at work to defeat the separate consolidation of Germany, and to retain her old obstructive influence; and at more than one of the Courts she had been

listened to with approval. Neither had he forgotten his interview with the King of Prussia. In his letter, however, he goes into no details: the Prince and himself, he writes, look at the question from different points of view, but the Prince must wait the first favourable opportunity of discussing the whole subject in the only way it could be done effectually—by the *pro* and *con* of actual conversation. Meanwhile, with the frankness which characterized their friendship, he told the Prince, as he had told him on a former occasion (see vol. i. p. 451), that he looks at the question too much from the purely dynastic point of view, and under the insuperable disadvantage of being too far from the scene of action.

It was not till the 24th of December that the Prince had an opportunity of fully talking over the German question with the Baron, who, although he had been for several days in England, was not able sooner to come on a visit to the palace. From this time any divergence in their views seems practically to have ceased. The Prince, abandoning his former opinion, accepted to the full the view which Stockmar had all along entertained, that the true policy for Austria as for Prussia was, that each should constitute itself as a separate kingdom, preserving at the same time the tie of the most cordial friendship and alliance. A few days afterwards the Prince embodied this opinion in a carefully worked-out Memorandum, which he communicated to the King of Prussia, little dreaming that there was at the very moment on the way to him a letter from the King, which showed beyond a doubt, that the Emperor of Austria and himself had come to an understanding, that, let Frankfort decide as it might, Germany and Austria should remain linked together as before. This, with much else that happened soon afterwards, must have come very opportunely to corroborate Baron Stockmar's strongly expressed conviction,

that the German problem was not to be solved by dealing with it from the dynastic point of view. At the same time, it must have deepened the desponding feeling with which, it is obvious from the following letter to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, the Prince had for some time regarded the prospects of a satisfactory conclusion to the great Liberal movement in Germany:—

'I come to you to-day with new-year salutations, and wish you much health and happiness at the beginning of the new as well as at the close of the old year. One is heartily glad to say good-by to it, and deeply grateful ought we to be that we have managed to come out of it with a whole skin. Still I fear that mankind has not grown much wiser or better, and I see symptoms in the German Sovereigns of an inclination to repeat all the old faults, which have been within an ace of costing them their heads. *Rien oublier et rien apprendre* is the motto of many.[8] Ernest [Duke of Coburg], on the contrary, commands my praise for the extraordinary activity and excellent disposition which he shows.

'Windsor Castle, 27th December, 1848.'

Among the personal regrets of the Queen and Prince which marked the close of this memorable year, there were few more genuinely and deeply felt than that for the death of their valued Minister and friend Lord Melbourne, which took place on the 24th of November, in his seventieth year. 'Truly and sincerely,' the Queen writes in her Journal on

[8] The Prince's language, in writing to the King of Prussia a few days later (6th January, 1849), shows how deep-seated was his anxiety on this subject. 'My most earnest wish is, that, as soon as the relations between Austria and Germany are arranged between themselves, the new German Federal Union may at once be settled by prompt action on the part of the German Princes. But, of a truth, they must be quick about it, if that damning phrase of 1848, "too late!" is not to go vibrating on into 1849, and a new series of revolutions to be set in motion.'

hearing the news, 'do I deplore the loss of one who was a most kind and disinterested friend of mine, and most sincerely attached to me. He was indeed, for the first two years and a half of my reign, almost the only friend I had, except Stockmar and Lehzen, and I used to see him constantly, daily. I thought much and talked much of him all day.' The latter years of Lord Melbourne's life, since his withdrawal from public life and London society, were known to have been tinged with the melancholy, from which not even a vigorous mind, richly stored with the knowledge of books and men, can secure a companionless old age. He had been doomed to feel what Gibbon tells us even he dreaded in anticipation—'that domestic solitude, however it may be alleviated by the world, by study, and even by friendship, is a comfortless state, which grows more painful as we descend into the vale of years.' Knowing this to have been the case, the feeling under which the following entry was made by the Queen in her Journal two days later, will be at once understood:—

'I received a pretty and touching letter from Lady Palmerston, saying that my last letter to poor Lord Melbourne had been a great comfort and relief to him, and that during the last melancholy years of his life we had often been the chief means of cheering him up. This is a great satisfaction to me to hear.'

There were few who were not, like the Prince, heartily glad to say good-by to the year 1848,—few, however, who had the same cause to wish it at an end. Jeremy Taylor, in a well-known passage, says:—'If we could, from the battlements of heaven, espy how many poor men and women at this time lie fainting and dying for want of bread; how many young men are hewn down by the sword of war; how many orphans are now weeping beside the graves of their parents, by whose life they were enabled to eat; how many mariners and pas-

sengers are at this present in a storm, and shriek out because their keel dashes against a rock or bulges under them, how many there are that weep with want, or are mad with oppression, or are desperate from a too quick sense of a constant infelicity; in all reason we should be glad to be out of the noise and participation of these evils.'

The poet-preacher speaks but of what might be seen at any hour of any day by one who could take in at a glance what is passing upon our globe. What would he have pictured as the feelings of one whose constant duty it was to watch the pitiable spectacle which well nigh every day of the now closing year had presented of human suffering and bereavement, of want and havoc, of hate and delusion and civil strife, of baffled patriotism, of intolerable wrong, of noble purposes sullied by ignoble hands, of the madness, and destruction, and death which had ravaged so large a section of Christian Europe? To maintain this watch the Prince had deemed to be his duty in the interests of the great kingdom with which his destiny had connected him. Many momentous problems had been raised, the solution of which, eagerly as he desired it, he was not to see. But he had faith in the ultimate purposes by which the progress of the world is overruled. He had faith that what is right may be delayed, but cannot be prevented; that surely, however late, comes the hour of retribution to selfishness and wrong; and, however glad, perhaps, in his moments of weariness he might have been 'to be out of the noise and participation of the evils' of the time, he turned —with a heart grateful for the good the year had brought to England and to her palace-home, and not unhopeful of the future—to do what in him lay to help forward the prosperity and well-ordered freedom of his fellow-men.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Already the days were beginning to be too short for the vast amount of work which the Prince had to crowd into them. He held it to be one of the duties of the Sovereign, whose other self he was, that she should be, if possible, the best informed person in her dominions as to the progress of political events and the current of political opinion, both at home and abroad. That our Constitution demands a passive indifference on the part of the Sovereign to the march of political events, was in his view a gross misconception. 'Nowhere,' he states in a private memorandum written in 1852, 'would such indifference be more condemned and justly despised than in England. Why,' he continues, 'are Princes alone to be denied the credit of having political opinions based upon an anxiety for the national interests, their country's honour, and the welfare of mankind? Are they not more independently placed than any other politician in the State? Are their interests not most intimately bound up with those of their country? Is the Sovereign not the natural guardian of the honour of his country? Is he not necessarily a politician?' Ministries change, and when they go out of office, lose the means of access to the best information which they had formerly at command. The Sovereign remains, and to him this information is always open. The most patriotic Minister has to think of his party. His judgment therefore is often insensibly warped by party considerations. Not so the Con-

stitutional Sovereign, who is exposed to no such disturbing agency. As the permanent head of the nation, he has only to consider what is best for its welfare and its honour; and his accumulated knowledge and experience, and his calm and practised judgment, are always available in Council to the Ministry for the time without distinction of party.

The extent and accuracy of the Prince's information on every subject of political importance impressed all with whom he came in contact. Ministers of State found him as familiar as themselves with the facts immediately connected with the working of their own departments. Ambassadors returning from their legations were struck to find how completely he had at command every significant detail of what had happened within the sphere of their special observation.[1] Diplomatists proceeding for the first time to some Foreign Court learned, in an interview with the Prince, not merely the exact state of affairs which they would find awaiting them, but very frequently had the characters of the Sovereigns and statesmen with whom they would have to deal sketched for them with a clearness and precision which they afterwards found of the utmost practical service.

This mastery of details could only be gained by great and systematic labour, in itself quite sufficient to absorb the energies of a busy man. But to the claims of politics had to be added those, which science and art, and questions of social improvement, were constantly forcing upon the Prince's attention. An extensive correspondence also took up much time, and thus a comparatively small portion of every day was left for that domestic and social intercourse for which

[1] For example, Lord Normanby returning to his post at Paris, after a hasty visit to England, writes to his brother Colonel Phipps (2nd April, 1849): 'I was very much struck, during the conversation with which the Prince honoured me, by the accurate recollection he retained of the small details of the many great events of the last year, and by the correct judgment which he had formed upon that sound foundation.'

the Prince was, by his quick observation and natural brightness of spirits, peculiarly fitted, and in which he delighted to throw off for the time the weight of graver cares. He was habitually an early riser. Even in winter he would be up by seven, and dispose of a great deal of work before breakfast, by the light of the green German lamp, the original of which he had brought over with him, and which has since become so familiar an object in our English homes. The Queen shared his early habits; but before Her Majesty joined him in the sitting-room, where their writing-tables stood always side by side, much had, as a rule, been prepared for her consideration,—much done to lighten the pressure of those labours, both of head and hand, which are inseparable from the discharge of the Sovereign's duties.

In the following letter to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, we have a picture of the Prince stealing a quiet moment to send a few welcome words to the old home, before the rest of the world had begun to stir:—

'It seems a long time since I wrote to you, and this idea brings all at once into conjunction pen, ink, and paper, and my villanous hand (villanous, but greatly in request), and here I sit at my writing-table in the stillness of the morning, before the noisy bustling world is awake, in order that I may converse with you. That it is not hard for me to concentrate my thoughts *upon you* for this purpose, you will readily believe.

'These are the days in which last year all the tidings of evil burst in upon us. The French Revolution, the arrival of the fugitives, and Brandenstein with the woeful news from Gotha. Poor good Grandmama! I cannot thank Heaven sufficiently that it did not suffer her to survive the year that is gone: it would have made her too unhappy.

'Here everything goes on its quiet course, quiet in com-

parison with the new epoch on the Continent. We shall retreat to-day for a fortnight to the Isle of Wight, towards which we evermore turn from time to time with longing hearts; and, to our great delight, a violent storm, which has been raging for the last three days, and blown down a number of fine old trees in the garden here and in the parks, has abated. A storm is an uncommendable contribution to a sea voyage. I ought, however, scarcely to give that name to our short crossing. I hope to be able, one day, to show you our little retreat. You have only to wait for a thoroughly calm fine summer's day in Ostend, and then four hours will bring you to us.

'With this pious wish I am forced again to take leave of you; yet I must tell you that I was present yesterday evening at the London Vocal Union in Exeter Hall, and heard Händel's *Israel in Egypt*, which brought our old "Singverein" vividly back to my mind.

'Buckingham Palace, 2nd March, 1849.'

Though the course of affairs at home since the close of 1848, had been, as the Prince says, comparatively quiet, it had not been uneventful. Parliament, which was opened by the Queen in person on the 1st of February, had shown by the discussions in both Houses on the Address, that the Ministry would have hard work to hold their own. A violent attack was made upon their foreign policy, in Italy especially, where it had given offence to the reigning Sovereigns without substantially advancing the cause of the national party; and an amendment to the Address, moved by Lord Derby in the House of Lords, was only defeated by a majority of two. In the Lower House the attack of the Opposition was conducted by Mr. Disraeli, who, appearing for the first time as the successor of Lord George Bentinck, showed that he was prepared to continue the hopeless battle of Protection with unabated

vigour, and to oppose a determined resistance to the repeal of the Navigation Laws, which the Ministry had announced as part of their programme for the session. On this side, however, the Government were invulnerable; and although Mr. Disraeli amused the House and carried it with him, while speaking of the chaotic confusion into which Republican crotchets had brought the Continent, and of the inglorious results of our intervention in Italy and elsewhere,[2] he did not venture to press his amendment to a division. It was identical with Lord Derby's, and, read in connection with the language maintained by both its movers, it implied approval of a reactionary policy, which the Free-Trade majority of the House of Commons was sufficiently numerous to defeat.

The state of Ireland was still so critical, that on the 6th of February the Home Secretary brought in a Bill to renew for six months the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. This was carried through the Houses by immense majorities, and on the 7th, by way of counterpoise, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved in committee for a grant of 50,000*l.* for the purpose of affording relief to certain of the Poor Law Unions. So much had already been granted to Ireland from the Imperial Treasury, that this proposal was strongly contested, and it was only conceded upon irresistible evidence in the course of the debate, that the money was indispensable

[2] 'Look at the state of France,' said Mr. Disraeli, 'look at the state of the whole centre of Europe. . . . I find in France a Republic without Republicans, and in Germany an Empire without an Emperor; and this is progress!! . . . There wanted but one ingredient in the mess to make the incantation perfectly infernal. A Republic without Republicans, an Empire without an Emperor, required only mediation without an object to mediate about; and the saturnalia of diplomacy would mix with the orgies of politics.' The sarcastic allusion to the pending mediation between Austria and Sardinia derived fresh force, when a few weeks afterwards Sardinia rushed into war. But the fact remains, that by engaging France in that mediation, Lord Palmerston bound France to a peace policy in the North of Italy, and thereby averted the hazard of an European war.

to save large numbers of the peasantry from starvation. On the 8th, a Select Committee was appointed to consider the working of the Irish Poor Law, and at a later period the measure was introduced for the Sale of Encumbered Estates, to which much of the subsequent prosperity of the country has been due.

While the legislature was thus making Ireland its first and most earnest care, the tidings from India had filled the public mind with alarm. The revolt in the Punjaub, which had broken out early in 1848, had assumed formidable proportions. On the 22nd of November, 1848, the British forces under the command of Lord Gough had sustained a serious repulse at Ramnuggur, in which three distinguished officers and many of his best soldiers had fallen. The movements during the following month had not retrieved this disaster. On the contrary, the fall of the fortress of Attock on the Indus had set free the forces of Chuttur Singh to join those of his son, Shere Singh. This would have added to their strength by, at least, one half, and Lord Gough determined to force an engagement with Chuttur Singh before the junction could be effected. The battle of Chillianwallah was the result. The Sikhs, who numbered more than double the British force, and were greatly superior in their weight of guns, turned all the advantages of a strongly entrenched position, covered by jungle, to the best account. The battle lasted from noon till nightfall. We had not been defeated; but not to have conquered, was, in the popular estimate, tantamount to a defeat. Our loss in officers and men had been severe, and, worse than all, four of our guns and five standards had been taken by the enemy. When the news of this engagement reached England, it caused general alarm. Lord Gough was singled out for condemnation,[3] and

[3] 'What,' says Sir Charles Napier, 'was his (Lord Gough's) crime? He had

the Government, yielding to the general outcry, determined on sending out Sir Charles Napier to take the command-in-chief. 'If you do not go,' he was told by the Duke of Wellington, 'I must.' And, although labouring at the time under a mortal malady, Sir Charles went. Meanwhile, however, Lord Gough had more than retrieved the comparative failure of Chillianwallah by the overwhelming defeat which he inflicted on the combined forces of the Sikhs and Affghans at Goojerat upon the 12th of February. Just one month afterwards, the forces under Shere Singh were compelled to make an unconditional surrender. The guns and flags taken from us at Chillianwallah were restored, the whole war material of the enemy was given up, and their soldiers disarmed and disbanded. By this time the fortress of Mooltan had been reduced (23rd January, 1849), and the Moolraj, who had begun the revolt on the western frontier of the Punjaub, was a prisoner in our hands. On the 29th of March the kingdom of the Punjaub was declared by Proclamation to be at an end, and to be thenceforth a portion of the British Empire in India.

The victory of Goojerat, which was known in England by the 1st of April, following upon the tidings of the fall of Mooltan, dispelled the gloomy apprehensions which had scared the British nation for a time into unwonted attention to the current of events in India. On the 24th, the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to all (officers and men) who had brought the Punjaub campaign to so successful a conclusion, and the opportunity was seized by the Duke of Wellington and others to repair the wrong which had been done to more than one distinguished reputation by hasty critics, led away by imperfect reports, and by what the Duke denounced as 'scraps from newspapers.'

fought a drawn battle; the enemy was not crushed. For that only his destruction was called for.'—*Napier's Memoirs*, iv. 151.

In the month of March, the party of Protection in the House of Commons had fought out its last great battle in resisting the proposed repeal of the Navigation Laws. They were defeated by large majorities. But the issue of the contest in the House of Lords was still in suspense, and, for a time, it seemed not improbable that the measure would be rejected there. In the then state of parties, with a strong current of public opinion in favour of the measure, such a result was felt by the oldest and wisest heads of the old Conservative party to be most undesirable, and the Prince had good reason to anticipate from his personal communications with them, that they would throw their support into the scale to prevent it. The situation of affairs at home therefore, where the prospects of manufacture and commerce were steadily improving, was upon the whole satisfactory, and accordingly the Prince writes to one of his correspondents on the 10th of April, 'Everything is going on well here.'

A few days later he was called upon to lay the foundation stone of the Great Grimsby Docks, one of those great works, which, to use his own words on the occasion, are 'destined in after times, when we have quitted this scene and when our names even may be forgotten, to form another centre of life to the vast and ever increasing commerce of the world.' Upon this occasion, he was the guest of Lord Yarborough at Brocklesby, from which he addressed the following playful note to the Queen, to appease the wifelike anxiety which even his briefest absence occasioned:—

'Your faithful husband, agreeably to your wishes, reports,

'1. That he is still alive;

'2. That he has discovered the North Pole from Lincoln Cathedral, but without finding either Captain Ross or Sir John Franklin;

'3. That he has arrived at Brocklesby, and received the address;

'4. That he subsequently rode out, and got home quite covered with snow, and with icicles on his nose;

'5. That the messenger is waiting to carry off this letter, which you will have in Windsor by the morning;

'6. Last, not least (in the Dinner-speeches' phrase), that he loves his wife, and remains her devoted husband.

'Brocklesby, 17th April, 1849.'

Next day the stone was laid in the midst of a severe snowstorm. A luncheon followed, and, when the Prince's health was drunk, he alluded with admirable tact in his reply to the feeling which leads Englishmen, 'strongly attached as they are to the institutions of the country, and gratefully acknowledging the protection of those laws under which their enterprises are undertaken and flourish, to connect them, in some measure, directly with the authority of the Crown and the person of their Sovereign. It is the appreciation of this feeling,' he added, 'which has impelled me at once to respond to your call, as the readiest mode of testifying to you how strongly the Queen values and reciprocates this feeling.'

Bleak and stormy as the weather had been, the concluding remarks of the Prince showed, that it had not prevented him from seeing what had been done for agriculture by the energy and perseverance which had succeeded 'in transforming unhealthy swamps into the richest and most fertile soil in the kingdom.' He had been at pains, too, to ascertain how it was that Lincolnshire farming had reached so high a standard, and was delighted to find that it was in a great measure due to the most gratifying state of the relation between landlord and tenant. 'Here,' he said, 'it is recognised, that the real advantage and the

prosperity of both do not depend upon the written letter of agreements, but on that mutual trust and confidence which has in this country, for a long time, been held a sufficient security to both, to warrant the extensive outlay of capital and the engagement in farming operations on the largest scale.' Modern theory runs in the exactly opposite direction. It has yet to be proved, however, whether the old rule of mutual trust and confidence, or the hard and fast system of contracts, which discards all personal feeling, and makes no allowance for the casualties inseparable from farming, will in the end prove the best for either the farmer or the country.

The Prince's speech a few weeks afterwards (16th May), at a public meeting in aid of The Servants' Provident and Benevolent Society, attracted much attention by the breadth of its views and the warmth of its feeling. The Society was based on what he regarded as a fundamental principle in all schemes for improving the condition of those who live by labour,—that they should owe their well-doing mainly to their own efforts and their own self-denial, receiving from others only such an amount of encouragement and help, as would not compromise their self-respect, or make them slacken in their efforts to effect their own independence. The Prince, who was himself beloved by his servants,—for, while he exacted a strict fulfilment of their duties, they knew that good service was noted, and was sure of its reward in considerate kindness as well as in promotion, —had been much impressed by the fact, that in London the greater part of the inmates of the workhouses have been domestic servants. For example, out of 1,506 adult inmates of the Marylebone Workhouse in the May of this year, 1,032, and of 323 in St. George's Hanover Square, no less than 162 had belonged to that class. Two years before it had been ascertained, that of the whole number of domestic

servants in England and Wales seventy per cent. ended their days either in workhouses or in the receipt of public charity in some other shape. Considering that the numbers of domestic servants within the same area were computed at upwards of a million, this was a fact of truly startling gravity.

That it was in a great measure due to improvidence was unquestionable. But what care had been taken to teach providence and self-denial to a class liable to special temptations, or to put them in the way of turning their savings to the best account? The object of the Society was in some measure to apply a remedy for this neglect; and the warmth with which its claims were now advocated by some of the most distinguished men in England was only one proof the more of the anxious desire of the rich and powerful in this country to help their less fortunate brethren, on the simple condition that they will only strive to help themselves. Among those who addressed the meeting were Lord John Russell, the Bishop of Oxford, the Marquis of Westminster, Archdeacon Manning, the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury. All spoke well, but none more to the point or with a more thoroughly felt mastery of the subject than the Prince.

Sir Walter Scott has well said—and what we know of his relation to his servants lends added force to the remark —'In a free country an individual's happiness is more immediately connected with the personal character of his valet than with that of the monarch himself.' It was in the same strain of feeling, that the Prince in the outset of his speech bespoke the interest of his hearers for his subject. 'Who,' he said, 'would not feel the deepest interest in the welfare of their domestic servants? Whose heart would fail to sympathise with those who minister to us in all the wants of daily life, attend us in sickness, receive us upon

our first appearance in this world, and even extend their cares to our mortal remains, who live under our roof, form our household, and are a part of our family?' He then adverted to the fact of the appalling pauperism of the class, and the duty it imposed on 'both masters and servants to endeavour to discover and to agree upon some means for carrying the servant through life, safe from the temptations of the prosperous, and from the sufferings of the evil day.' These means the Society had set itself to provide, and therefore it had his cordial support.

'It is founded,' he went on to say, 'upon a right principle, because it endeavours to trace out a plan according to which, by providence, by present self-denial and perseverance, not only will the servant be raised in his physical and moral condition, but the master also will be taught how to direct his efforts in aiding the servant in his labour to secure to himself resources in cases of sickness, old age, and want of employment. It is founded on a right principle, because in its financial scheme there is no temptation held out to the servant by the prospect of possible extravagant advantages, which tend to transform his providence into a species of gambling; by convivial meetings, which lead him to ulterior expense; or by the privilege of balloting for the few prizes, which draws him into all the waste of time and excitement of an electioneering contest.'

The main object of the Society and of the meeting, the Prince then explained, was to call the attention of servants to the Deferred Annuities Act, under which a competent provision under a Government guarantee might be secured by a very moderate pecuniary sacrifice during youth and middle life, and to induce masters and mistresses to lend their aid in making the benefits of this Act known. Other incidental objects of the Society were then adverted to in clear and forcible terms, but it was to the facilities offered for a sound investment of servants' savings that the

Prince himself attached the chief importance; and he had the satisfaction of knowing, that, so well were these appreciated by servants themselves, when once brought to their notice, that while the number who had contracted for Annuities through the Society during the year 1849 was only 78, no fewer than 546 contracted during the following year,—the sum of 1,366*l.* paid in 1849, rising in 1850 to 11,623*l.* So deep was the interest felt by the Prince in this subject, that he gave close personal consideration to the Savings' Banks Bill introduced by Government in the following session, and entered into an active correspondence with Sir Charles Wood, which resulted in important modifications upon the measure in accordance with suggestions by the Prince,—all having for their object to give the largest measure of encouragement to savings by the humbler classes.

The press was loud in its praises of the part taken by the Prince in the proceedings of this meeting. 'Good sense, good feeling, and good taste,' combined with a 'homely and touching eloquence,' were recognised in his speech, and a special value was ascribed to it as showing that, at a time when in every other part of Europe political passions and party animosities were setting rich and poor by the ears, convulsing society, paralysing trade, and sowing distress and suffering broadcast, the Throne was found at the head of a movement by the upper classes so immediately directed to raising and improving the condition of one great section of the lower. More than by all the praises of the press, however, the Prince appears to have been touched by a letter, which reached him a few days afterwards, signed 'Your Royal Highness's young humble subject C. A., A servant of good character,' begging in respectful terms that he would 'deign to accept the most humble and heartfelt thanks of a "servant" who can see the good effects that must ensue'

from what the Prince had said and was doing for the class to which the writer belonged. 'Faithful feelings,' he adds in a postscript, 'spurred me to this bold act, and fear of having done wrong alone deterred me from signing my name in full. I have heard many more wish to express their humble feelings in this manner, but dare not.'[4]

Three days after the meeting (19th May) public indignation was raised by the tidings that the Queen, as she was returning to the Palace in an open carriage, with three of her children, had been again fired at on her way down Constitution Hill. The Prince, who was riding in advance, was not aware of what had occurred, and learned it from Her Majesty's own lips only as she alighted. Not for a moment had the Queen lost her self-possession, but motioned for her carriage to proceed and engaged the children in conversation. The crowd was furious, and but for the intervention of the police would have torn the man who fired to pieces. He proved to be an Irishman, named William Hamilton, of

[4] Since 1849 the servants' question in its bearings on society has become much more difficult. The ultimate fate of domestic servants has certainly not improved, though wages are much higher, while their value to their employers as a rule is unquestionably less. If the Education Act is to do any good, one great part of the work of teachers must be to train the children of the lower ranks to fit themselves for service by a knowledge not merely of the rules on which cleanliness, thrift, and health depend, but by inspiring them with a reverence for truth in word and act, by making them understand that in life all men serve according to their station, and that true service in its humblest form is as honourable to the individual as true service in the highest.

> The constant service of the antique world
> When duty sweat for service not for meed,

had become a dream even in Shakspeare's time. But it is not good either for employer or employed that the only link between them should be that of wages. All men are in any case better for putting heart into their work, and simple honesty, that scorns to take wages not duly earned, would do much to raise the question of labour, not only among servants, but in all spheres, into a healthier state than has long been known.

Adare, in the county Limerick, and to have had not even the motive of notoriety for his act. The pistol, it was clearly shown, had been charged only with powder. On the 14th of June, Hamilton was tried under the Act passed in 1842 for dealing with offences of this nature. He pleaded guilty and was sentenced to seven years' transportation.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The time had now arrived, when the Prince of Wales was to pass into the hands of a private tutor, and the course and conduct of his studies engaged the anxious thought of both the Queen and Prince. So far back as May, 1848, negotiations had been opened with Mr. Henry Birch, now the Rector of Prestwich, near Manchester, the gentleman, who was ultimately entrusted with the office. This was only done, of course, after the most careful inquiry into his qualifications. Mr. Birch had been educated at Eton, where he became Captain of the School, and obtained the Newcastle Medal. He had taken high honours at Cambridge, and had been for four years Under-Master at Eton. 'The impression he has left upon me,' says the Prince, in writing (6th August, 1848) to Lord Morpeth, 'after a preliminary interview, is a very favourable one, and I can imagine that children will easily attach themselves to him.' He was now to enter upon the duties, and the Prince announces the fact to the Dowager Duchess of Gotha in the following letter:—

'The children grow more than well. Bertie will be given over in a few weeks into the hands of a tutor, whom we have found in a Mr. Birch, a young, good-looking, amiable man, who was a tutor at Eton, and who not only himself took the highest honours at Cambridge, but whose pupils have also won especial distinction.

'It is an important step, and God's blessing be upon it,

for upon the good education of princes, and especially of those who are destined to govern, the welfare of the world in these days very greatly depends.

'Windsor Castle, 10th April, 1849.'

One of the earliest cares of the Queen and Prince had been to settle on what principles the education of their children should be conducted. In this, as in so much else, they had called the experience of Baron Stockmar to their aid, and he had gone into the subject with all a German's thoroughness, and with all an Englishman's practical good sense. The quaint saying of the Baron (quoted *supra*, vol. i. p. 95), that 'a man's education begins the first day of his life,' will not have been forgotten. It spoke his own rooted conviction; and nowhere more than in a palace was it needful that this conviction should be carried into practice. 'Good education,' the Baron says, in a Memorandum on the Education of the Royal Children, so early as the 6th of March, 1842, 'cannot begin too soon.' 'To neglect beginnings,' says Locke, 'is the fundamental error into which most parents fall.' In the child the affections and feelings develop themselves at an earlier period than the reasoning or intellectual faculties. The beginning of education must, therefore, be directed to the regulation of the child's natural instincts, to give them the right direction, and, above all, to keep the mind pure. 'This,' he continues, 'is only to be effected by placing about children only those who are good and pure, who will teach not only by precept but by living example, for children are close observers, and prone to imitate whatever they see or hear, whether good or evil.'

After some further general remarks, the Memorandum proceeds: 'The first truth by which the Queen and the Prince ought to be thoroughly penetrated is, that their

position is a more difficult one than that of any other parents in the kingdom: because the Royal children ought not only to be brought up to be moral characters, but also fitted to discharge successfully the arduous duties which may eventually devolve upon them as future Sovereigns. Hence the magnitude of the parental responsibility of the Sovereigns to their children; for upon the conscientious discharge of this responsibility will depend hereafter the peace of mind and happiness of themselves and their family, and as far as the prosperity and happiness of a nation depend upon the personal character of its Sovereign, the welfare of England.

'To this day England reveres the memory of George III. as the great upholder of the domestic virtues. History already takes the liberty of judging of his merits as a Sovereign, but it remains unanimous in its praise of his private virtues. But George III. either did not properly understand his duties as a parent or he neglected them. Three of his sons, George IV., the Duke of York, and William IV., were brought up and educated in England. The Dukes of Kent, of Cumberland, of Sussex, and of Cambridge, received great part of their education on the Continent. The errors committed by George IV., the Duke of York, and William IV., belong already to the domain of history. Unfortunately the errors of these Princes were of the most glaring kind, and we can find their explanation only in the supposition that their tutors were either incapable of engrafting on their minds during their youth the principles of truth or morality, or that they most culpably neglected their duties, or were not supported in them by the Royal parents.'

Stockmar's sagacity in seeing all round a question seems here to have failed him. Parents and tutors might both have done their duty, but other forces may have been too strong for them. Their precepts, like the seed in the

Parable, might have fallen on stony ground, 'and the thorns sprung up and choked them.' Or Horace might have reminded him, that to know and approve what is right does not keep men from doing wrong. *Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor.*[1] The Baron proceeds :—

'There can be no doubt that the conduct of these Princes contributed more than any other circumstance to weaken the respect and influence of Royalty in this country, and to impair the strong sentiments of loyalty among the English people, for which they have been for centuries distinguished. That George IV. by his iniquities did not accomplish his own exclusion from the throne was owing to the strength of the English Constitution, and the great political tolerance and reflection of this practical people. The moral part of the nation execrated this Prince during his whole life. . . . Nevertheless he expired quietly on the throne; his brother York, after all his blunders and errors, was able to regain some partial and temporary popularity. And William, who all his life had been anything but a moral and a wise man, went towards the close of his reign under the endearing appellation of "the good old Sailor King."[2]

'To explain these phenomena the moralist apprehends something beyond the mere strength of the Constitution and the considerate toleration of the people, and he finds that an additional protection was afforded to those Princes

[1] What, too, are the words that Shakspeare puts into the mouth of Portia? (*Merch. of Venice*, i. 2.) 'If to do were as easy as to know what were good to do, chapels had been churches, and poor men's cottages princes' palaces.'

[2] 'And not without reason. Whatever his faults may have been, it was well known that he was not only zealous but most conscientious in the discharge of his duties as King. He had a truly kind heart, and was most anxious to do what was right. This was the character given of him to the Queen by Lord Melbourne, and by others who served him; and of his kindness to herself, and his wish that she should be duly prepared for the duties to which she was so early called, the Queen can only speak in terms of affectionate gratitude.'—NOTE BY THE QUEEN.

by the power of national prejudice. The truth is, that whatever the faults of these Princes were, *they were considered by the public as true English faults.* I have myself heard a hundred times the open avowal, "that though the Princes were very bad, their faults were at least truly English, and, such as they were, the nation must make the most of them." '

On the other hand, the Memorandum continues, the other Princes having chiefly been brought up abroad, whenever they incurred the censure of the public, were taxed with foreign notions, and the blame of their misconduct was laid upon their foreign education. 'The consequence was, that although these younger Princes were not a bit worse than their elder brothers, they were all their lives most unpopular with the majority of the nation.'[3]

The lesson which the Baron draws from these facts, and presses most earnestly upon the Queen and Prince, is, 'that the education of the Royal infants ought to be from its earliest beginning *a truly moral and a truly English one.*' Coming to the practical question, how this is to be secured, he says, that the education of the Royal children 'ought from the beginning to be entrusted to persons only who are themselves morally good, intelligent, well-informed and experienced,' as such persons only can know what is requisite for moral and intellectual education, and can alone conduct it consistently. These persons once chosen, it will also be indispensable that the Royal parents afford them the requisite support, by which alone they can accomplish their arduous duties.' On this latter point Baron Stockmar justly lays the greatest stress. Without the full and implicit confidence of the parents, the tutor, he contends, 'can neither command the respect and obedience of those who

[3] The Baron surely goes too far in this assertion. Two at least of the younger Princes were certainly popular.

are destined to serve under him, nor can he within the whole sphere of his action maintain the needful discipline. Without such undeviating support he will be incessantly exposed to the malignant insinuations, cavillings, and calumnies of ignorant or intriguing people, who are more or less to be found at every Court, and who invariably try to destroy the parents' confidence in the tutor, well knowing that this is the surest way of depriving him of his best means of success. Without the parental confidence, I repeat it, education lacks its very soul and vitality, and any and every plan of education which does not move on this as on its main spring, may beforehand be looked upon as a certain failure.'

The sound general principles laid down in this Memorandum at once commended themselves to the Queen and Prince, and formed the standard for their guidance as the years advanced. What at the moment it was written pressed most urgently for decision was a sound system for the nursery. Baron Stockmar goes, with his usual thoroughness, into this question. The conclusions at which he arrives will be best gathered from the following letter by the Queen to Lord Melbourne :—

'Windsor Castle, 24th March, 1842.

'We are much occupied in considering the future management of our nursery establishment, and naturally find considerable difficulties in it. As one of the Queen's kindest and most impartial friends, the Queen wishes to have Lord Melbourne's opinion upon it. The present system will not do, and must be changed ; and now how it is to be arranged is the great question and difficulty. . . . Stockmar says, and very justly, that our occupations prevent us from managing these affairs as much our own selves as other parents can, and therefore that we must have some one in whom to

place *implicit confidence.* He says, a lady of rank and title with a sub-governess would be the best. But where to find a person so situated, fit for the place, and, if fit, one who will consent to shut herself up in the nursery, and entirely from society, as she must, if she is *really* to superintend the whole, and not accept the office, as in my case, Princess Charlotte's, and my aunts', merely for title, which would be only a source of annoyance and dispute?

'My fear is, that even if such a woman were to be found, she would consider herself not as only responsible to the Prince and Queen, but more to the country, and nation, and public, and I feel she ought to be responsible only to *us*, and *we* to the country and nation. A person of less high rank, the Queen thinks, would be less likely to do that, but would wish to be responsible only to the parents. Naturally, too, we are anxious to have the education as simple and domestic as possible. Then again, a person of lower rank is less likely to be looked up to and obeyed, than one of some name and rank. What does Lord Melbourne think?'

Lord Melbourne lost no time in replying to the Queen on a question which he considered as very greatly affecting, to use his own words, Her Majesty's 'present comfort, and the future welfare of her children, and consequently the interests of the country.' He entirely concurred in the opinion of Baron Stockmar, that a lady of rank should be at the head of the establishment. 'A person of good condition,' he writes, 'would better understand the precise nature, duties, and responsibility of her place, and would be more likely to fulfil and observe them.'

Lady Lyttelton, who had been a Lady in Waiting since 1838, seemed to possess the very qualities which were desired; and in the month of April, 1842, she was installed in the

office of governess to the Royal children.[4] For eight years she filled it with no less ability than devotion, winning the respect and affection of her pupils, and discharging her onerous duties to the satisfaction of the Queen and Prince. The best evidence of this is, that when she resigned her office at the close of 1850, because, in her own words, she 'was old enough now to be at rest, for whatever time may be left me,' her young charges parted from her with sad hearts and tearful eyes, and of the Queen she was able to write thus (5th December, 1850): 'The Queen has told me I may be free about the middle of January, and she said it with all the feeling and kindness of which I have received such incessant and unvarying proofs through the whole long twelve years during which I have served her. Never, by a word or look, has it been interrupted.' Not less warm are her expressions of admiration for 'the candour, truth, prudence and manliness of the Prince,' his wisdom, his ready helpfulness, his consideration for others, his constant kindness. Of her last day in the Palace she writes (17th January, 1851): 'In the evening I was sent for, to my last audience in the Queen's own room, and I quite broke down, and could hardly speak or hear. I remember the Prince's face pale as ashes, and a few words of praise and thanks from them both, but it is all misty; and I had to stop on the private staircase, and have my cry out, before I could go up again.' Simple words; but how much do they not tell of true service on the one side, and full-hearted gratitude on the other?

While wishing to be guided in all things relating to the education of the Royal children by the Prince's wishes, Her

[4] Sarah, Lady Lyttelton, daughter of George John, second Earl Spencer, and his wife, Lavinia, daughter of the first Earl of Lucan, was born 29th July, 1787, married in 1813 to William Henry, afterwards third Lord Lyttelton, and died in 1870.

Majesty from time to time placed upon record, in writing, her own views upon the subject. In these Memoranda, the education of the head is well provided for, but the education of the heart is dwelt upon as of primary importance. One of them, dated 4th March, 1844, winds up thus:—'The greatest maxim of all is—that the children should be brought up as simply, and in as domestic a way as possible; that (not interfering with their lessons) they should be as much as possible with their parents, and learn to place their greatest confidence in them in all things.' The question of religious training is also dwelt upon repeatedly, and anxiously. That this is best given to a child, day by day, at its mother's knees, was the Queen's conviction. Even so early as in 1844, however, the pressure of public duty made it impossible to keep this part of the education of the Princess Royal wholly within her own hands. 'It is already a hard case for me,' Her Majesty says in a Memorandum of 13th November of that year, 'that my occupations prevent me being with her, when she says her prayers.' But both the Queen and the Prince maintained a constant supervision, so that the minds of their children should not be warped by the extreme views, which were then prominently held by a large section of the Anglican Church. For the guidance of the instructors of the Princess Royal, a clear principle was laid down by the Queen in the same Memorandum, which was never lost sight of in the religious training of the younger children. It was this:

'I am *quite* clear that she should be taught to have great reverence for God and for religion, but that she should have the feeling of devotion and love which our Heavenly Father encourages His earthly children to have for Him, and not one of fear and trembling; and that the thoughts of death and an after life should not be represented in an alarming and

forbidding view, and that she should be made to know *as yet* no difference of creeds, and not think that she can only pray on her knees, or that those who do not kneel are less fervent and devout in their prayers.'

So early as 1846, the question, 'Who should educate the Prince of Wales,' had come to be discussed outside the Palace. An able pamphlet with that title had been published, and arrested considerable attention. It did not escape the notice of the Prince, whose thoughts were already much occupied by the subject, and it was fully canvassed by him with Baron Stockmar. The Baron rightly considered that the time had not yet come to chalk out successfully the details of the future education of one so young. But in what principles he should be educated could not be too soon settled. Accordingly he proceeds to state his views to the Queen and Prince in an elaborate Memorandum (28th July, 1846), some extracts from which will be read with interest, showing as they do, not only how truly this wise counsellor had noted the signs of the coming times, but in how truly English a spirit his advice was conceived.

'On the choice of the principles on which the Prince of Wales shall be educated,' the Baron writes, 'will in all probability depend, whether the future Sovereign of England shall reign in harmony with, or in opposition to, the prevailing opinions of his people. The importance of the selection of principles is increased by the consideration that opinion in Europe is at this moment obviously in a state of transition, and that, by the time the Prince shall ascend the throne, many of the maxims of government and institutions of society, now in the ascendancy, will, according to present probabilities, have either entirely passed away, or be on the very verge of change.'

He then mentions in detail some of the anomalies in our

political and social system, which, being adapted to a particular state of civilisation, may have been useful in their day, and may still be necessary, but can, 'in the eye of reason, be regarded only as a temporary expedient for the support of order in a condition of society *which is changing*.' Some of these 'anomalies' have already disappeared; others still remain, for the removal of which the time is not yet ripe. 'If,' continues the Baron, 'coming events cast their shadows before, we may without presumption say that the shadows of great and important changes in the social conditions of Great Britain are already so conspicuously written on the land, that the changes themselves cannot be far distant. The great and leading question therefore is,—whether the education of the Prince should be one *which will prepare him for approaching events*, or one *which will stamp, perhaps indelibly, an impression of the sacred character of all existing institutions on his youthful mind, and teach him that to resist change is to serve at once the cause of God and of his country.*

'Wisdom appears to dictate the superior advantages of the former course.

'The education of the Prince should, however, nowise tend to make him a demagogue or a moral enthusiast, but a man of calm, profound, comprehensive understanding, imbued with a deep conviction of the indispensable necessity of practical morality to the welfare of both Sovereign and people.

'The proper duty of the Sovereigns in this country is not to take the lead in change, but to act as a balance-wheel on the movements of the social body. When the whole nation, or a large majority of it, advances, the King should not stand still; but when the movement is too partial, irregular, or over-rapid, the royal power may with advantage be interposed to restore the equilibrium. Above all attainments, the

Prince should be trained to freedom of thought, and a firm reliance on the inherent power of sound principles, political, moral, and religious, to sustain themselves and produce practical good, when left in possession of a fair field of development.'

The question of religion is next dealt with. 'The law prescribes, that the belief of the Church of England shall be the faith of the members of the Royal Family, and in this creed the Prince of Wales *must unquestionably be trained.*' But, continues the Baron, an important question will arise, whether in due time the Prince's mind should not be opened to changes which are going on in public opinion in regard to matters of faith, and the important influence on the minds of educated men which the discoveries of science are likely to exert in the future. Society was already divided into two classes of religious thinkers: one—and this a more numerous one 'than external indications would lead an ordinary observer to imagine'—who regard 'the pure and comprehensive morality of Christianity as the solid foundation on which all the supernatural portions of its structure rest;' the other, comprising 'a vast array of able, conscientious, and enlightened persons, who regard the supernatural portions of Christianity as its most valuable elements, and who bend their chief efforts to the propagation and infusion of these portions into the public mind.

'The former class place their chief reliance for the improvement of society on the development of a knowledge of nature, and on our obedience to the natural laws of our being. They are persuaded that God actually governs the world; that he has instituted a system of all-pervading causation on earth, coincident with the dictates of the purest morality and the soundest religion, framed man in harmony with the system, and left him, by the exercise of his reason and the discipline of his will, to work out his own weal or

woe in every stage of his existence. In other words, that a consequence of good or evil is attached by the Creator to every action of men, and that the good follows actions which conform to reason, morality, and religion; while evil is the consequence of error, passion, and injustice in their every form.

'This class regards the discoveries of science, and the sound inductions of philosophy, as so many revelations of the Divine will for human instruction and guidance; and they view the occupation of the public mind by the supernatural dogmas of religion as an obstacle to the appreciation and practical adoption of these real revelations. A constant war is carried on openly, but more generally from masked batteries, by this class of persons, on the prevailing religious opinions. In all ages, these have been unbelievers in the popular religions of their day, many of them, as is generally believed, from aversion to the restraints which religion imposes on their passions; but the class to which I now allude is composed of different elements, and comprehends individuals who are moral in their conduct, sincerely attached to social order and just government, and whose dissent from the supernatural doctrines of Christianity is founded on deep historical research and the most serious reflection. At present few public demonstrations are made by this class in Britain; but, according to my observation, their numbers are considerable and increasing, and they include not only many members of the aristocracy and learned professions, but a portion of the operative classes of respectable character and condition. Every discovery in science, and every increase in its diffusion, adds to their strength, and they are much disposed to lament the slow progress, which is made in the application of science to social life, in some measure, as they conceive, in consequence of the preoccupation of many excellent minds with supernatural doctrines. In

looking to the future, I cannot avoid the conclusion that this party contains the seeds of important modifications in the opinions and religious institutions of the British Empire.

'One fundamental difference between them and the adherents of supernatural religion lies in the distrust of human nature and its capabilities entertained by the latter. The orthodox believers regard the supernatural portions of Christianity as the basis which sustains its morality, and as the sole foundations of government, law, and subordination. Their chief efforts are, therefore, directed towards impressing deep and sacred convictions of their doctrines on the public mind, and, in their pulpit teaching, the natural world, with all its harmonies, adaptations, and laws, is too little brought into view, while many of them strongly deny that it is a theatre adapted for the practice of the Christian virtues.'

Will it, Baron Stockmar asks, be safe to allow the Prince of Wales 'to learn the existence and force of these antagonist creeds and opinions only by their shocks against the Established Church and the Throne?' or to open up the whole subject by setting before him the grounds on which the convictions of each party is based? But, however this question should be ultimately resolved, the Memorandum continues:—

'The Prince should early be taught that thrones and social order have a stable foundation in the moral and intellectual faculties of man; that by addressing his public exertions to the cultivation of these powers in his people, and by taking their dictates as the constant guides of his own conduct, he will promote the solidity of his empire, and the prosperity of his subjects. In one word, he should be taught, that God, in the constitution of the mind, and in the arrangement of creation, has already legislated for men, both as individuals and as nations; that the laws of morality, which he has written in their nature, are the foundations on

which, and on which alone, their prosperity can be reared; and that the human legislator and sovereign have no higher duty than to discover and carry into execution these enactments of Divine legislation.'

Baron Stockmar goes on to consider, with his usual practical sagacity, by whom and in what way these guiding principles could best be carried out; but into these details it is unnecessary to enter. Although he had left little room for further treatment of the subject, it was felt by the Queen and Prince to be of such magnitude and importance, that they were bound to obtain the best opinions from other quarters for their guidance. With this view the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Wilberforce) and Sir James Clark were both applied to, and they placed their views upon record in able and elaborate papers, in which each treated the subject in a manner characteristic of his special genius and personal pursuits, but practically resulting in conclusions nearly identical with those of Baron Stockmar,—the great aim of both being to build up a nobly and princely character, in intelligent sympathy with the best movements of the age.

Events at home and abroad, within the two years and a half which had elapsed since Stockmar wrote his Memorandum on the education of the heir to the British throne, had proved the sagacity of his forecast, and the wisdom of what he had recommended. He was once more by the Prince's side, and every detail of the method to be pursued in attaining the desired object was anxiously debated and worked out between them for the guidance of the gentleman in whose charge the Prince of Wales was now to be placed. The arrangements hitherto in force for the education of the Royal children had been found to work well. They had now only to be improved and completed to meet the increasing years of the pupils, and the exigencies of the time. The rapid growth of the spirit of democracy throughout Europe had

made all persons in an exalted position the objects of a keener criticism, and the art of governing more difficult than before. It was no doubt true, that the course which the Queen and Prince had marked out for themselves and their children had long since been so shaped, that they need fear no scrutiny, however searching, and could do no more than advance in the same line in which they had hitherto walked. But recent events had deepened their sense of the responsibilities attaching to their position; and whoever has followed what has just been told of the spirit in which they dealt with the question of education will be at no loss to understand the feeling expressed in the Prince's letter to his stepmother (*supra*, p. 174), which prompted him to invoke God's blessing on the important step of placing the Prince of Wales in the hands of one, on whose instruction and influence so much might depend.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

On the 3rd of May the Bill for the Amendment of the Navigation Laws passed the second reading in the House of Lords. Although this was carried by the narrow majority of ten, it was known to be practically safe,[1] and the danger to be past, which had for some time threatened the Ministry, whose hold on office was due less to their own strength than to the disunion of their adversaries. The breach between the section of the Conservatives who adhered to Sir Robert Peel and the Protectionists was still open. The former had lent the Ministry their vigorous support in carrying out a measure, which swept away all that was left of the system of Protection; while the Protectionists had not yet abandoned the belief, that it was still not too late to retrace the steps taken by Sir Robert Peel in 1846, and were telling their followers, with a sincerity of conviction which could not be mistaken, that unless these steps were retraced, 'this great kingdom would soon return to its normal and natural state—a weather-beaten island in a Northern Sea.'[2]

Meanwhile the country was steadily belying all such rhetorical Jeremiads. Slowly but steadily it was recovering from the depression under which it had laboured for nearly two years, thanks to that indomitable energy which has made 'this precious stone, set in the silver sea,' as it was more

[1] It passed the third reading on the 12th of June without a division.

[2] Speech of Lord Malmesbury at a Protectionist meeting, presided over by the late Duke of Richmond, on the 26th June, 1849.

truly called long centuries ago, an example to the world, in what it has done for itself at home, and for the vast regions, which it has peopled with its sons, taught its own arts, and blessed with its own freedom. Farmers were seeking, in better crops, got by better farming, their true protection against mischief from the abolition of the Corn Laws. Money was still dear, the natural consequence of the country having committed itself to an excessive outlay in railways and other works. Its trade, however, was sound, and the check to production abroad from the long continuance of disturbance throughout the Continent had begun to tell favourably upon our own manufacturing interests. Ireland, too, though still languid from her long agony of famine and fever and political disquiet, was reaping the advantage of her enforced tranquillity. A feeling of security was restored, and the industrious and well-affected were doing their best to retrieve what had been lost through the agitation and distrust, no less than by the ruined harvests of the last four years.

Observing these welcome signs of improvement, the Queen and Prince conceived that their long-projected visit to that part of the kingdom should be no longer delayed. In what form it should be paid, however, was a question not unimportant. The cost of a state visit would involve, on the one hand, a heavy demand on the public purse, and this it was desirable to avoid, considering how largely Ireland had of late drawn upon the imperial resources; while, on the other, such a visit would throw upon Ireland herself an amount of expense which she could ill afford. These considerations were strongly urged by the Prince, in writing to Lord John Russell, on the 6th of June, as a reason why the visit should rather assume the character of a yachting excursion. 'Although,' the Prince writes, 'a state visit has been long expected, I am sure that the present state of distress

will be considered a sufficient reason for its not taking place, and can well imagine that this less ceremonious visit might be placed in a light even more complimentary to the Irish, if it were said, "The general distress of Ireland precludes the Queen from visiting Dublin in state, and thereby causing ill-timed prodigality; but still the Queen does not wish to let another year pass by without visiting a part of her dominions which she has for a long time been anxious to see. She accordingly sacrifices her personal convenience by taking a long sea voyage for the purpose of visiting Cork, Waterford, Wexford, Dublin, and Belfast." This,' the Prince adds, 'would be the tour which we should propose to make, upon our way to Scotland, and this would enable us to comprise Glasgow in our arrangements, compensating it for the disappointment two years ago.'

In these views Lord John Russell concurred, and they were confirmed by the opinion of Lord Clarendon. 'Since Her Majesty came to the throne,' he wrote to Lord John (7th June), 'there has been no period more politically propitious for her coming here than the present one. Agitation is extinct, Repeal is forgotten—the seditious associations are closed,—the priests are frightened and the people are tranquil. Everything tends to secure for the Queen an enthusiastic reception, and the one drawback, which is the general distress of all classes, has its advantages, for it will enable the Queen to do what is kind and considerate to those who are suffering. . . . . The only thing necessary would be to have some statement publicly made of the reasons why the visit is to be of a private and not of a state character, and it is impossible that those reasons could be better stated than in the words of the Prince.'

This course was followed in the official intimation by the Home Secretary to Lord Clarendon (27th June) of Her Majesty's intention to visit Ireland early in August. The

announcement was received with a warmth of enthusiasm, which those who knew Ireland best might have anticipated for it. Assurances continued to pour in of the satisfaction which it had given, and of the anxiety everywhere shown, that Her Majesty should have reason to remember with pleasure her promised visit, which, it was settled, should take place immediately on the rising of Parliament.

The state of public business gave promise that the work of the session would be over by the end of July. Early in that month, Mr. Disraeli had moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the state of the nation, in an elaborate speech, attacking the whole policy of the Government, domestic and foreign, but chiefly occupied with showing that the commercial and financial embarrassments of the country were due to the adoption of Free Trade principles. Again Sir Robert Peel came to the assistance of the Government, with an unanswerable array of facts and arguments on the other side. Mr. Disraeli had told the House that by his motion he meant to ask for a vote of no confidence in the Government, but the majority of 140, by which it was rejected (6th July), conclusively demonstrated, that the House was as little disposed at the end of the session as it had been at its beginning to acknowledge that Free Trade had been a mistake.

In what he said of the Foreign policy of the Government, and the loss of influence at the Courts of Europe, which had resulted from it, Mr. Disraeli commanded a wider sympathy. But affairs abroad were still in too nebulous a state to be generally intelligible by the outside world, and, so long as England was kept out of war, Parliament was content to let the action of Government stand over for discussion until the position of the Absolutist Powers of the Continent had assumed a more definite shape. Of these only one, the King of the Two Sicilies, had by this time fully re-established his autho-

rity. The surrender of Palermo on the 15th of May had terminated the Sicilian revolt, and the English Government was charged, not without some show of justice, with having encouraged the Sicilians to resistance, and then deserted them in their extremity.[3] In the North of Italy, Austria had established her supremacy. The defeat of Charles Albert at Novara, on the 23rd of March, followed by his immediate abdication,[4] had given fresh tenacity to her hold upon Lombardy; and although Venice still held out, its ultimate surrender was obviously not very remote, and indeed took place on the 25th of August.

The success of Austria in the North of Italy introduced fresh complications in the affairs of Central Italy. The Pope had, from his retreat at Gaëta, besieged the Catholic Powers for aid to reinstate him in his dominions. Austria was now free and not indisposed to answer to the appeal. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was also looking to her for assistance to dislodge the revolutionary party which in February had driven him from Florence. France could not stand quietly by and see Austria extending her influence into Central Italy, and the decision (which, in so far as the Prince President was concerned, was most reluctantly yielded) was thus forced upon her to answer the Pope's appeal by sending an expeditionary force under General Oudinot to Cività Vecchia, thereby exposing herself to the taunt of acting in the teeth of that very republicanism on which her own Government was ostensibly based. Austria, Spain, Naples, all sent their contingents to the aid of the Pope, but France was bent on securing the occupation of

[3] Lord Palmerston had seriously compromised the Government by sanctioning the withdrawal of guns from the Government stores, in September, 1848, for the purpose of being sent to the Sicilian insurgents—a proceeding which had caused extreme dismay to his chief and colleagues, on its coming to their knowledge some months afterwards.

[4] He died at Oporto on the 28th of July following.

Rome for herself. A bloody repulse sustained by her troops on their first appearance outside the city on the 29th of April confirmed them in this resolution. By the beginning of June, General Oudinot had under his command a force of 28,000 men, with a siege train of 90 guns. With these a regular siege was commenced, and pressed with so much vigour, that, despairing of further resistance, Garibaldi left the city, with Mazzini, the chief of the Republican Government, and five thousand men, who, before the month was out, were either disbanded or prisoners in the hands of Austria. Next day the French colours floated over the Castle of St. Angelo; and although they were replaced within a week by those of the Pope, His Holiness did not return to Rome until many months afterwards (12th April, 1850), when the feelings of bitterness on the part of both Sovereign and subjects had had time to subside. In the month of April a counter-revolution had taken place in Florence; the Grand Duke of Tuscany was received back into his dominions with general acclamations, and Parma and Modena were restored by Austrian bayonets to their Sovereigns. The dream of Italian unity was dissipated for the time; and, although it continued to be cherished more earnestly than before, its fulfilment seemed even to the most ardent to be indefinitely postponed.

Germany had now become a field in which the interests of the people were sacrificed to the rival claims of Austria and Prussia for supremacy. By the beginning of 1849 the Frankfort Assembly had at last elaborated a National Constitution. Based upon universal suffrage and placing the control of both the Upper and Lower Chamber in the hands of the people, it was essentially republican, and carried within itself the seeds of the doom which ultimately befel it. By the end of January the Assembly had also settled that at the head of Germany should be a German Prince, with the hereditary title of Emperor, and it was apparent that for

this Emperor the majority looked to the King of Prussia. Twenty-eight of the smaller States had declared their readiness to throw in their lot, with Prussia at their head, in a smaller confederacy, of which Austria should not form a part. But the susceptibilities of the reigning Sovereigns of Saxony, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Hanover, were touched by the proposal, and they protested against any measure which should place them under subordination to Prussia.

Austria was now thoroughly alarmed. Prince Schwarzenberg dismissed the Imperial Diet at Kremsier, and took into his own hands the question of a Constitution, which the Assembly had met to form. On the 4th of March the draft of a new Constitution was published by the Austrian Cabinet, the distinctive feature of which was, that it declared the whole Austrian territories to be one and indivisible. Not a word was said in it about Germany, or the place of Austria in the German Confederation. Austria, in this way, said the Prussian party in Frankfort, had voluntarily withdrawn herself from the German Confederacy. But those who had hitherto supported her in the Frankfort Assembly were shaken in their attachment to her, less by this argument, than by the clear indication she had now given of her fixed determination to resist every measure, which should alter the old state of things in Germany—in other words, to restore the old Diet, with all its purely dynastic leanings.

The moment seemed favourable for the Prussian party, with Gagern at its head, to achieve their object. Austria was at this time sorely pressed both in Italy and in Hungary. She had added to her unpopularity by standing aloof from the dispute with Denmark, which had denounced the armistice of Malmoe, and announced its intention to renew hostilities on the 26th of March. To gain over the requisite majority of the Assembly, von Gagern and his friends entered into a compact with the democrats, by which they

pledged themselves to consent to no material alteration of that very Constitution, which they knew well could not be accepted by any of the German Sovereigns. The immediate result of the combination was, that on the 28th of March the King of Prussia was elected by the Assembly Emperor of the Germans, by 290 votes in a House of 538 members. The same day on which the news of this resolution reached Berlin brought tidings of the great Austrian victory at Novara. What influence this fact may have had upon the mind of the King of Prussia it is impossible to estimate. To accept the Frankfort offer was to provoke a war with Austria; and Austria triumphant in Italy, with Russia ready to support her, and with Bavaria, Würtemberg, Hanover and Saxony at her back, was an adversary whom the King of Prussia might well hesitate to encounter.

His own Chambers, where the doctrinaire element was largely predominant, were hampered by no apprehensions of this kind. On the 1st and 2nd of April they successively voted addresses, urging the King to accept the Imperial Crown. But when it was tendered to him next day by the deputation from the Frankfort Assembly, it was courteously declined. The stress laid by the King upon the impossibility of his accepting the honour, 'without the voluntary assent of the Crowned Princes and Free States of our Fatherland,' could not fail to wound to the quick the feelings of a Body who believed themselves to represent the mind and wishes of the German nation, and who were not inclined to leave all for which they had so long contended at the mercy of a number of dynasties, each thinking only of its individual interests. The assent of the other Powers, which the King of Prussia had declared to be indispensable, was explicitly refused, in answer to an appeal which he made to them. This decided his action, and he then definitively intimated to the Frankfort Assembly that he could not

accept the crown, which, without such assent, was 'an unreal dignity,' especially tendered as it was in connection with a Constitution which he could regard only as 'a means gradually, and under legal pretences, to set aside authority, and to introduce the Republic.'

It was not hard to foresee the end of this state of things. The hands of Gagern's party were tied by their unwise compact with the democrats, who on their side were not sorry at a result which favoured their designs to set up a Republic amid the general confusion. On hearing of the vote of 28th March, Austria had sent orders to her deputies to leave the Frankfort Assembly, and Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg and Hanover were only awaiting a favourable moment to follow the example. Robbed of its only possible leader in Prussia, the Constitutional party was paralysed, and the extravagant proceedings of the Frankfort Assembly, from which the great body of moderate politicians had retired, provoked a Royal ordinance (7th May) enjoining the Prussian deputies to take no further part in its proceedings. Three days afterwards the Gagern Ministry resigned. By the end of the month the Assembly, which had shrunk to a mere handful of its original members, thinking itself no longer safe in Frankfort, surrounded as it was by the military forces of Prussia, removed its sittings to Stuttgart. There it was allowed to hold its meetings undisturbed until the 6th of June, when, having passed resolutions deposing the Reichsverweser, appointing a new Imperial Government of five violent republicans, decreeing a general arming of the people, and a heavy subsidy in men and soldiers upon the state of Würtemberg, the Würtemberg Government thought the time had come to read them a practical lesson as to their own impotence. On proceeding to their usual place of meeting on the 18th of June, they found its doors closed by a file of soldiers, who compelled them to retire. After a futile pro-

test, they dispersed, not again to meet. To this ignominious close an Assembly, which had come together with the fairest hopes, and was the expression of a great national impulse, had been brought, partly by forces with which the popular will was too weak to contend, but still more by its own wild theories and self-willed obstinacy.

It had been foreseen, that a fresh outburst of the revolutionary spirit would follow upon the break-down of the hope for a united Germany, consequent on the King of Prussia's refusal of the Imperial Crown. It soon came. On the 14th of May the Prince Consort, who had dreaded this result, writes to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg: 'You in Germany are at this moment entering upon a new epoch, which is again stained with blood. Poor country! How many people have perished since March, 1848; how many millions of men suffered! And, on the other hand, I would fain know of any one single individual, who finds himself better than he was before!' No advance had been made towards the national unity and independence, which might have tempered this regret. These ends were, indeed, further off than ever; and much blood, the Prince knew well, must still flow in civil conflict, without bringing them nearer,—nay, with the probable result of leaving the old unsatisfactory order of things in a worse state than before.

The first rising took place in Dresden on the 3rd May, when the King was driven to take refuge in the fortress of Königstein, and a Provisional Government with a Polish refugee at its head was proclaimed. After several days' desperate fighting the city was retaken by Prussian and Saxon troops. Leipzig was saved from a similar revolt (7th May) only by the loyalty of her Civic Guard. In the same week risings took place in Cologne, Elberfeld, Crefeld, Neuss, Hagen, Düsseldorf and Iserlohn, and were only put down after much bloodshed. In the Palatinate, which had long been

ripe for revolt, the people rushed to arms, the troops joining them in masses. From the Palatinate the revolution spread into the Duchy of Baden. There also the military, thoroughly demoralised by the taint of the wildest theories of government and religion by which the Duchy had long been infected, turned against their Sovereign and commanding officers. Rastadt, Offenburg, Carlsruhe fell into their hands. The French propagandists of revolution, who had long been active throughout the Rhenish frontier States, had done their work well; but they forgot, that in teaching Germany, as it was now taught, the danger to the kingdom of its most important outlying province being left as a weak separate State, this lesson was not likely to be forgotten, in view of France's long threatened menace of encroachment on the German frontier.

The Reichsverweser did his best to get together a Federal army to check these movements. But Prussia alone had force enough at command for this purpose, and she was resolved to keep it in her own hands, and to act independently, though in friendly concert with the Frankfort government. Bavaria, so lately jealous of Prussian supremacy, invoked the aid of Prussia in restoring order in the Palatinate, and early in June a large body of disciplined troops advanced into the revolted provinces. The Federal army was under the command of General Peucker, part of the Prussian under that of General Hirschfeld, and the rest under that of the Prince of Prussia. Hirschfeld found his share of the task comparatively easy. The divisions under Peucker and the Prince of Prussia met with a stouter resistance, and on more than one occasion were in danger of defeat in their encounters with the insurgent forces, led by Mieroslawski, the defeated revolutionary general of Posen and of Sicily. But by the end of June, Mieroslawski, with the broken remnant of his followers, was in full flight to Switzerland—all of the insur-

gents that remained in arms were shut up in the fortress of Rastadt, where they were starved into surrender by the 23rd of July, and on the 18th of August the Prince of Prussia brought back the Grand Duke of Baden in triumph to his capital.

Thus closed the era of Revolution in Germany. Things were restored to their old footing. Many years were yet to elapse, and much to be endured, before the stifling grasp of Austria was unloosed; and it needed the pressure of a common danger from their hereditary foe to make the German Sovereigns feel that the time had come, when that unity of action under an acknowledged head could no longer be withheld, which they had refused to concede to the wishes of their people in 1849.

While these events were taking place in Germany, the Prince had daily opportunities of discussing them with Baron Stockmar, who passed the winter and early summer in England. The result was a closer approximation in their views. What had happened was not calculated to inspire much hope, and Stockmar left England on the 4th of July, depressed in spirits, and greatly out of health. A few days afterwards the Prince wrote to him :—

'Dear Stockmar,—I cannot tell you how it grieves me to see you always so suffering. You employ yourself so exclusively with the well-being and the happiness of others, that it is too sad that every reminiscence of yourself should be tinged with disquietude or pain. When you were last with us, the interchange of mind between us was truly confidential; and I trust, when you look back upon it, you will feel incited not to play us false in the autumn.

'Our journey to Ireland is still impending, and it will probably commence on the 2nd. Before then I have several expeditions to make. To-morrow to Winchester, to be

present at the dinner of the College, and to give the Welsh Fusiliers new colours—a ceremony which demands a military speech;[5] and on the 25th to Weymouth-on-the-Sea, to lay the foundation stone of the breakwater at Portland for the new harbour of refuge, and at the same time to inspect the new system of convict labour, which has been and is to be applied to this structure.

'Osborne, 11th July, 1849.'

During this month the Prince was actively engaged in discussing with some of the members of the Society of Arts, with Mr. Labouchere on the part of the Government, with Sir Robert Peel and others, the project which he had formed for what soon afterwards took shape as the Great Exhibition of 1851,—a project long thought over and matured in his own mind before it was communicated to any one.

The chair of History at Cambridge had recently become vacant by the death of Professor Smyth, and the Prince, as Chancellor of the University, was most anxious to have for his successor some man of distinguished ability, who might be expected to create an interest in historical study among the students. With this view he offered (1st July) the appointment in person to Mr. Macaulay, by whom it was declined, on the ground that the duties would interfere with the completion of his History, two more years at least being required to finish his account of the reign of William. Other able men were spoken of; and on the 15th, Lord John Russell recommended Sir James Stephen, as the man next to Macaulay best qualified, in his opinion, for the chair. Sir James Stephen had for many years held a high position in the Colonial Office, and was remarkable there for the statesmanlike breadth of his views, which was combined with a

[5] This speech is given in the published volume of the Prince's principal Speeches and Addresses.

power over details, to a degree quite exceptional. He was a frequent writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, and his articles had shown the power of grasping the principles by which events are governed, which seemed specially to qualify him for a Professorship of History. His career in the Colonial Office had also given him a wide practical knowledge of men and affairs, without which an historian is lamed in one of his most essential qualities. Such was the view of Lord John Russell, who, in writing to the Prince (20th July), says:—'It seems to me that experience in the practical business of life is a good foundation for an historian. Xenophon, Tacitus, Davila, Guicciardini, were all men engaged in political or military affairs.'[6]

Sir James Stephen, by the request of the Prince, embodied in writing his views of the duties of the office of the Cambridge Professorship of History. These were found so satisfactory, that after a personal interview with the Prince (25th July), he received the appointment. The impression produced upon the Prince on this occasion is recorded in a letter to Baron Stockmar from Osborne:—

'Sir James Stephen has after all become Professor of History in Cambridge. We have had him here, and I was able to have much conversation with him. Never have I seen an Englishman with a mind more open and free from prejudice. I understand now, why he was unpopular; for he hits hard at the weak points of his countrymen.'

This was written on the 1st of August, on which day Parliament was prorogued by Commission, and on the eve of the Queen's departure on her first visit to Ireland. The Prince continues:

[6] The list might easily have been enlarged. Gibbon's remark, in his delightful Autobiography, *à propos* of his experiences in the Hampshire Volunteers, will not be forgotten:—'The captain of the Hampshire Grenadiers (the reader may smile) has not been useless to the historian of the Roman Empire.'

'. . . I call a farewell to you to-day, before we take to the sea, which is to carry us to Ireland. We embark in a few hours; and rejoice the wind has rather gone down, which gives promise of a quiet passage.'

Lady Lyttelton, left behind with the younger children (the four eldest having accompanied the Queen), and watching from the windows of Osborne the Royal squadron as it steamed out of sight, writes:—'It is done! England's fate is afloat; . . . . and we are left lamenting. They hope to reach Cork to-morrow evening, the wind having gone down, and the sky cleared, the usual weather compliment to the Queen's departure.'

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Many and eager were the eyes that watched the Royal Squadron as it steamed into the Cove of Cork, in the fading light of a beautiful summer evening, and anchored alongside the flagship *Ganges*, a stately two-decker of 84 guns. Showers of rockets streamed into the air, and the bonfires on the surrounding heights burned brighter and fiercer, as the peasantry, wild with delight to know that their Queen was actually among them, piled turf, faggot, and tar-barrel higher and higher, to give earnest of their welcome. It was a fitting prelude to the enthusiastic loyalty which hailed the Royal visitors at every stage of their Irish progress.

Her Majesty, in the published *Leaves from a Journal*, reports, that the next morning (3rd August) was grey and the air heavy. But the Journal does not state, what was noted with much interest at the time, that when she first set foot upon the shore at Cove, the sun broke out suddenly from the clouds with unusual splendour. The quaint picturesque old place thus received its new name of Queenstown under the brightest auspices. Kingstown had owed its title to its being the spot where George IV. had disembarked on his visit to Dublin, and the Queen yielded to the natural desire of her subjects in the South, that a similar record of her first introduction to Irish soil should be left with them. The people were taken somewhat by surprise by the arrival of the Royal Squadron sooner than expected; but good

news fly fast, and when the Royal party proceeded in the afternoon in the *Fairy* up the river Lee to Cork, they found its beautiful shores everywhere crowded, and were received with wild shouts, mingled with the firing of cannons and small arms, and the ringing of bells, which gave an air of singular animation to the scene. In Cork, so lately a stronghold of disaffection, the same delighted excitement was everywhere seen. The streets, balconies, windows, and most of the housetops were lined with people, all cheering lustily and in excellent humour. Surrounded by a crowd, 'noisy, excitable, but very good-humoured, running and pushing about, and laughing, talking and shrieking,' the Royal visitors did not fail to observe one distinguishing feature of the race. 'The beauty of the women is very remarkable, and struck us much; such beautiful dark eyes and hair, and such fine teeth; almost every third woman was pretty, and some remarkably so.'—(*Leaves*, p. 251.)

Next day the Royal Squadron started at ten for Waterford Harbour, which was reached about four. It anchored about ten miles below the city, to which the Prince sailed up in the *Fairy* with the two Princes, but did not land. Only the previous year the *Stromboli*, one of the vessels of the Royal Squadron, had been anchored off Waterford, ready to quell the expected rising there, and now Waterford, like Cork, was all alive with loyal enthusiasm. The sight of the fort at *Duncannon*, opposite to which the Royal yacht lay at anchor, recalled thoughts of the last King of the Stuart race, who embarked here for France, in July, 1690, a trembling fugitive, after his final defeat on the Boyne.

At seven o'clock next evening (5th August) the Royal Squadron steamed into the magnificent harbour of Kingstown. For some time before Kingstown was reached, the sea had been alive with boats, yachts, and steamers, laden to the water's edge with eager crowds. 'The wharfs where the

landing place was prepared,' Her Majesty writes (*Leaves*, p. 254), 'were densely crowded; altogether it was a noble and stirring spectacle. The setting sun lit up the country, the fine buildings, and the whole scene with a glowing light, which was truly beautiful.' Next morning at ten, the Queen and Prince landed under a salute from all the men-of-war in the harbour. 'It was a sight,' says the chronicler of *The Times*, 'never to be forgotten—a sound to be recollected for ever. Ladies threw aside the old formula of waving a white pocket-handkerchief, and cheered for their lives; while the men, pressing in so closely as to throng the very edges of the pavilion, waved whatever came first to hand—hat, stick, wand, or coat (for the day was very hot)—and rent the air with shouts of joy, which never decreased in energy till their Sovereign was out of sight. . . . The Royal children were objects of universal attention and admiration. "Oh! Queen, dear!" screamed a stout old lady, "make one of them Prince Patrick, and all Ireland will die for you."' The railway conveyed the Royal party to Dublin in a quarter of an hour, and they proceeded in open carriages from the Sandymount Station, some distance out of Dublin, to the Viceregal Lodge in the Phœnix Park. The sun shone brightly. Every window, roof, and platform from which the procession could be seen, was thronged with cheering crowds. Every hedgerow in the suburbs was festooned with flags; the poorest cottages had their wreaths of flowers and evergreens. In the capital of a country which had so recently been 'in open revolt and under martial law,' nothing but the most demonstrative loyalty was to be noted. 'It was,' the Queen writes, 'a wonderful and striking spectacle, such masses of human beings, so enthusiastic, so excited, yet such perfect order maintained; then the numbers of troops, the different bands stationed at certain distances, the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, the bursts of welcome which rent

the air—all made a never-to-be-forgotten scene.'—(*Leaves*, p. 255.)

The feeling in Her Majesty's mind at the moment must have been akin to that which drew the well-known exclamation from Charles II., as he passed through the crowds that lined his passage across Blackheath on his way to London after the Restoration—'How is it they and I have been kept so long apart!' At such a time the reasons for the separation, cogent as they might be, were not likely to be remembered.

The four days spent in Dublin were one continual jubilee. Tuesday was passed in visiting the public institutions. Of these none excited greater interest than the National Model Schools, where the Royal visitors were received by the Archbishop of Dublin and the Roman Catholic Archbishop Murray, then eighty-two years of age, a man whose worth seemed written upon his benignant features, which were made more venerable by long white hair that fell down to his shoulders. The Prince was familiar with the admirable character of Dr. Murray, and knew how much he had done to encourage and maintain these excellent schools against the bigoted opposition of others of his creed.[1] The Queen

[1] In a contemporary memorandum by Sir James Clark (furnished to us by the kindness of his son), he mentions that Lord Clarendon had assured him, that but for the exertions of Dr. Murray 'these admirable schools could not have been kept up.' Dr. Murray, Lord Clare told Sir James Clark, 'was a man of great firmness of mind, and had his feelings under excellent command. Want of success did not affect him. He went on his course steadily. In fact I believe he is,' continues Sir James, 'one of those men, who act on principle, but whose feelings do not enter much into the part they take in life. They are neither much elated by success, nor depressed and annoyed by failure. They are not anxious. They can quietly bide their time without fretting. These are the men who live long. It is anxiety, and fretfulness, and oversensitiveness that wear out the man. Anxiety is the waster of life, and young persons of anxious mind should be educated to suppress their feelings as much as possible, at least to get them into training by bringing the reasoning faculties into play, to show the uselessness of their anxieties and their injurious action on health.' Dr. Murray died 26th March, 1852, aged eighty-four.

records in her Journal (*Leaves*, p. 257), with marked satisfaction, the proofs that were given of their excellent system of instruction, and the Prince more than once expressed the same feeling to those about him, who shared his always lively interest in the subject of education.

A levee, at which no fewer than four thousand persons were present, filled up the next day. The morning of Thursday was devoted to a review of over six thousand troops in the Phœnix Park, the finely broken ground of which lends itself admirably to such military displays. After the review the Prince visited the Royal Irish Academy, the Royal College of Surgeons, and inspected their museums. He then went to the Royal Dublin Society, of which he was a vice-patron, and at whose cattle-shows he had been a competitor. In replying to the address which was presented to him by the Society, the Prince gladly seized the opportunity to dwell upon the value he attached to its operations, as calculated to raise the productive powers of the country and increase its wealth, giving at the same time remunerative employment to its labouring population, and encouraging habits of industry. The concluding words of his reply produced a marked impression at the time :—

'It is impossible,' he said, 'not to feel deeply the marks of enthusiastic attachment which has been displayed to the Queen and myself by the warm-hearted inhabitants of this beautiful island; and I most sincerely hope that the promise of a plentiful harvest, of which your fields bear such hopeful evidence, may be the harbinger of a termination to those sufferings under which the people have so lamentably, and yet with such exemplary patience, laboured.'

He then spent nearly an hour in examining the Society's show of cattle and agricultural implements. It was particularly gratifying to him to find that the animals which had carried prizes had been chiefly bred in Ireland, and he urged

strongly the importance of pressing forward the improvement of the breeding stock in a country which, by the conditions of its soil and climate, must look for its agricultural prosperity to the rearing of cattle. His counsels were appreciated, and they have since borne excellent fruit.

A drawing-room at the Castle, which lasted from nine to twelve, closed the evening. Next day a visit was paid to Carton, the seat of 'Ireland's only Duke,' the Duke of Leinster—'one of the kindest and best of men,' as the Queen calls him (*Leaves*, p. 261); and the vivid account of the little excursion given in the same record shows how well it had been planned for showing some of the best features of the country. That evening the Royal visitors re-embarked at Kingstown. The scene of their landing was repeated. As the yacht passed the extreme point of the pier which enclosed the harbour, such a storm of cheers rose from the crowd, who were clustered at their thickest on this point, that the Queen climbed the paddle-box, on which Prince Albert was already standing, and waved her handkerchief 'as a parting acknowledgment of their loyalty.' At the same time she gave orders to slacken speed. The paddles ceased to move, and the vessel floated on, with the impetus it had received, very slowly, and close to the pier. An occasional stroke of the paddles kept the vessel in motion, and in this way the Royal yacht glided along for a considerable way after it had cleared the pier, Her Majesty retaining her place on the paddle-box, and acknowledging by her waving handkerchief how deeply she had been affected by the incidents of the last few days. 'The Royal standard,' says a contemporary chronicler, 'was lowered in courtesy to the cheering thousands on shore, and this stately obeisance was repeated three times.'

The people of Ulster were not likely to be less warm in their display of loyalty than those of the Southern pro-

vinces. Accordingly, when the Royal visitors reached Belfast next day, the fine quays rang with vociferous cheers from the densely packed crowds that occupied every available point of view. The Royal visitors could only devote about four hours to the Northern capital. Still, enough was seen in the brief visit to show how much the energy and industry of the people have done to beautify their city, and also to make it a great centre of manufacture and of commerce. The heartiness of their greeting also kept up to the last the feeling of satisfaction with which every incident of the Irish visit had inspired the Queen and Prince.

'The reception of the Queen,' writes Sir James Clark, a close and unimpassioned observer, who, in his capacity of physician, formed one of the Royal suite, 'has been most enthusiastic from the moment of her first setting foot on Ireland to her quitting it, and certainly by none more than by the industrious inhabitants of Belfast. The effect produced by the visit was most salutary.' It showed that the loyalty of the Irish was unshaken, and this calmed the apprehensions of their fellow-subjects in other parts of the kingdom, while it removed from the minds of the people themselves the suspicion of indifference to their interests, and distrust of their attachment, which, with a people so sensitive, might otherwise have grown into formidable proportions.[2]

[2] Perhaps there is no better index to the state of feeling produced by the Royal visit than the poetry of the streets, to which it gave rise in Dublin. This amply justifies what is said in the text. This poetry was often written by men of mark. From one of these ephemeral broadsheets, now before us, called *Royal Impressions*, we extract a few verses. The Queen is supposed to be speaking as she enters Dublin to the Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales:

A thousand anxious cares I had,
A thousand doubts and fears;
Would Dublin meet me, wildly glad,
Or darkly drowned in tears?

I knew not which to dread the more—
An angry people's frown,

Tidings of the excellent effect produced by the visit continued to follow the Queen and Prince on their route. Lord Clarendon writing from Dublin (14th August) to Sir George Grey, who accompanied the Queen as Home Secretary, says: 'The enthusiasm here has not abated, and there is not an individual in Dublin that does not take as a personal compliment to himself the Queen's having gone upon the paddle-box, and ordered the Royal standard to be lowered three times. Even the ex-Clubbists, who threatened broken heads and windows before the Queen came, are now among the most loyal of her subjects. . . . In short, the people are not only enchanted with the Queen and the gracious kindness of her manner, and the confidence she has shown in them, but they are pleased with themselves for their own good feelings and behaviour, which they consider have removed the barrier that existed between the Sovereign and themselves, and that they now occupy a higher position in the eyes of the world.'

Again, in writing three days later, Lord Clarendon says: 'The presence of the Sovereign cannot, of course, produce social reformation, nor at once remove evils that are the growth of ages; but it will produce more real good here than

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Or adulation's sickening roar
From helots grovelling down.

Both fears alike I now reject—
One hour has testified
Enough to Irish self-respect,
And Irish proper pride.

A good many verses are then devoted to expressions of surprise at seeing things so unlike the representations of Ireland and the Irish by *The Times*, *Punch*, and other satirists, and the poem closes with a tribute to the Prince, whose merits even thus early had not escaped the notice of the best men in Ireland:

And to your princely father here,
Come you with me and tell,
How much we know this royal cheer
Is due to him as well.

Good deeds have sent their aid before,
And charitable cares,
Devoted to our honest poor,
Have helped us unawares.

in any other part of Her Majesty's dominions. . . . The Queen's visit, moreover, will be associated with a turn in the tide of their affairs after four years' suffering, with an unprecedented influx of strangers and expenditure of money; and as they will contrast this year with the last, their conclusions must be unfavourable to political agitation. So even I, who am never very sanguine about things here, cannot help sharing in the feelings of hopefulness that pervade the whole country. As the Prince,' he adds, 'thoroughly understands how much the regeneration of Ireland depends upon improved agriculture, I think his Royal Highness may like to see the enclosed letter from Redington, who is gone for a few days to Galway.'[3]

The day after the visit to Belfast the Prince writes to Baron Stockmar—

'I write to you to-day from Belfast Lough, where we have been detained since yesterday by a frightful gale. Nevertheless, we shall try to-day at noon to get over to the Scottish coast. Our Irish tour has gone off well, beyond all expectation. Of the enthusiasm that greeted us from all quarters you can form no conception; neither had we anywhere the smallest *contretemps*. The Catholic clergy are quite as loyal as the Anglican, the Presbyterians, and the Quakers.

'Lord Clarendon had arranged everything in the best and handsomest way; and there can scarcely be a doubt that the visit will have done good to the country, as it brought people of all parties together. We had a levee, to which 4,000

[3] The letter could not fail to interest. 'My eyes,' it bore, 'rested, as I crossed the island, throughout upon one prospect of abundance. Such corn crops, such potatoes, and such green crops I never before saw. . . . The appearance of the people is no longer what it was. You see little, if any, *famine* in their faces. They are in good spirits, but their clothes speak *openly* their misery.'

persons came, and a drawing-room, at which 1800 ladies were presented.

'Hoping soon to receive tidings of you, and these *good ones*, touching your health,

'Ever your faithful

'ALBERT.

'Off Belfast, "Victoria and Albert,"
'12th August, 1849.'

The bad weather to which the Prince alludes pursued the Royal Squadron till it reached the Clyde, only clearing up as the Queen and Prince reached Glasgow on the 14th, where all the city turned out to receive them. From Perth, which was reached the same evening, the Prince again wrote to his friend at Coburg:

'Perth, 14th August, 1849.

'Just arrived here after a vile passage on the 12th from Belfast to Loch Ryan, and a frightful run thence yesterday to Greenock (where the sea was positively unpleasant to look at). But to-day, after a brilliant reception in Glasgow, and a veritable triumphal procession through five to six hundred thousand human beings, I find here your welcome letter of the 8th.'

Next day Balmoral was reached. 'It seems like a dream,' says the Queen (*Leaves*, p. 273), 'to be here in our dear Highland home again;' and the Prince, in writing to his stepmother a few days afterwards, says, 'The quietude and retirement among the mountains make a pleasant contrast to the brilliant bustle of our Irish tour, which could not have turned out happier, and in every point of view more satisfactory.' In the same letter he adds:—'Greatly do I envy you the satisfaction of having been present on the 17th at the uncovering of the monument of my beloved father, which unfortunately was not permitted to me.' In all such

ceremonials the affectionate nature of the Prince made him feel a tender interest. Genuine human feeling he never hesitated to give expression to himself, or to sympathise with in others, while of anything overcharged, or merely sentimental, he was wholly intolerant. His attachments were strong and constant, and therefore every place was hallowed to him, which was associated with thoughts of those whom he had loved. Thus, in a letter to the same lady (4th July), who was then at Friedrichsthal, near Gotha, we find him writing: 'This is the very time we commonly went to Gotha, to spend the 11th (her birthday) with poor dear grandmama (the Duchess of Gotha), a day on which she was always so happy and bright. If you can visit the Island in the park on that day, pray strew some flowers for me there upon her dear grave.'

Happily much of the anxiety as to public affairs, which had pre-occupied the minds of both the Queen and Prince when they were last at Balmoral, had now passed away, and they were more free to give themselves up to the enjoyment of their mountain retreat. When the Prince's birthday came round, his thoughts naturally reverted to the friend by whom his course had been guided in the days when counsel was most needed; and he wrote to him thus:

'Dear Stockmar,—I write to you on this my thirtieth birthday—an important period in a man's life; and as I do so, I remember with gratitude all the good lessons and practical maxims which I have received from you, and all the valuable aids which you have given me towards the establishment of my political position. I can say that I am content with everything, and would now only desire more energy and perseverance to work as much good as circumstances allow. Sins of *omission* in abundance I can recognise in the course of my life; and yet, again, they often

seem to me only natural, when I consider the fetters which prudence imposes on us to prevent our falling into sins of *commission*. Victoria is happy and cheerful, and enjoys a love and homage in the country, of which in this summer's tour we have received the most striking proofs. The children are well, and grow apace.

'The Highlands are glorious, and the game abundant.

'Germany has now entered, you will say, upon a new phase, since the subjection of Hungary has been effected.[4] May God keep his hand on Frederick William IV., and prevent any sudden deviation from the line which has up to this time been pursued in the Constitutional Question!

'Balmoral, 26th August, 1849.'

For the moment, the tranquillity of Europe seemed to be secure, and the Prince had more time to devote to home questions. Of this his correspondence bears pleasant traces. Thus, writing to Baron Stockmar from Balmoral on the 10th of September, he says:

'Dear Stockmar,—What principally occupies me just now is a plan for the establishment of a free University for Ireland in connection with the 'godless colleges,' in which I am supported by Peel and Lord Clarendon, and which may be regarded as accomplished; and another plan for an Universal Industrial Exhibition. Agents report from the manufacturing districts that the manufacturers hail the project with delight, and will co-operate heartily; and the East India Company promises to contribute a complete collection of all the

[4] The defeat of the Hungarians at the decisive battle at Temesvar on the 10th of August had practically closed for the time their struggle for independence. It was, however, only for the time; and when many years afterwards it was resumed, the firm and temperate counsels of Francis Deak won from the Emperor without bloodshed, in 1866, the acknowledgment of the Hungarian Constitution, for which thousands had died in 1848–9 in vain.

products of India. In October the scheme will be advanced further. To gain over the Continent will be no easy matter.

'I have been unlucky in my sport; I cannot get at a single stag since the first evening, when I brought down three in two hours. Still I do not lose my patience; and I console myself with the vigour I gain from exercise on the mountains and in the fine air.

'Balmoral, 10th September, 1849.'

It was natural the Prince should turn to Sir R. Peel on any question relating to the Queen's Colleges, which were in a measure a creation of his policy. The following letter to Sir Robert, who was then enjoying his *villeggiatura* in Scotland, explains itself:

'My dear Sir Robert,—I must write you a line since our return from Ireland. I am sure you will be pleased at the splendid reception which the people of Ireland gave us; and, although you always anticipated that they would show great loyalty, the intensity of the feelings they evinced would have surpassed even your expectations. I hear from every quarter that the Irish themselves are pleased with themselves, and take a pride in the mode in which they expressed their attachment to the throne of the Queen personally, which is the best effect one can desire. All parties seemed united, and party feuds were dropped. We saw the clergy of all the different Churches, and were as *godless* in that respect as your Colleges, which are to be opened in October. We visited the one at Belfast, and I had a good deal of conversation about them with Lord Clarendon. His selection of Professors seems excellent. I went through the plan of studies with Sir George Grey, which I think requires some improvement here and there.

'The great question to decide now is, whether the Colleges or the United University are to confer the degrees and

guide the Examinations. I have declared myself strongly for the latter plan, and believe that this will coincide with your views. If left to themselves, the Colleges would soon degenerate in the South into Roman Catholic Seminaries, and in the North into a Presbyterian School; but the competition of the three for University honours and scholarships will create a stimulus, which will keep up every one of them to the highest state of efficiency, and will enable the Government quietly to secure the execution of the original intention in the foundation of the Colleges against local influences.

'I hope you like your Highland home as much as we do ours, and derive as much benefit and recreation from it as we do. Believe me, yours truly,

'ALBERT.

'Balmoral, August 21, 1849.'

We give some extracts from Sir Robert Peel's reply. 'I have watched,' he writes (23rd August), 'with the deepest interest the progress of the Queen and your Royal Highness since you left Osborne. I should have been deeply disappointed if my confident anticipations that the reception in Ireland of Her Majesty and your Royal Highness would be one of affectionate enthusiasm had proved erroneous. But though I had no misgivings on that head, it is impossible to feel assured that there shall be no little mishap or *contretemps* in the course of a novel and rather complicated Royal visit, and I was truly gratified by the complete success of every, even the minutest, detail. . . .

'Your Royal Highness is good enough to express a hope that we are satisfied with Eileen Aigus. It is everything we could wish. We have a very comfortable residence on a lofty wooded rock, formed into an island by the separation of the Beauly River, each channel having a roaring cataract. The house was built by two pretenders to Her Majesty's throne,

who found people (among the rest Lord Lovat) credulous enough to believe that they were legitimate grandsons of Charles Edward. There is a very amusing explosion of their pretensions in the *Quarterly Review* for June, 1847, No. 161. They showed, however, great taste in the construction and furnishing of this house, taking the idea of it, I apprehend, from a German hunting-lodge.'

Sir Robert Peel delayed his reply to the Prince's remarks on the proposed University until he had been able fully to consider them in connection with papers on the subject which he had at the same time received from Lord Clarendon. On the 27th of August he embodied his views in a letter to Lord Clarendon, which he sent to the Prince to be read and forwarded. On the main point, that Degrees should be conferred only by the University, and not by the separate Colleges, his opinion was in entire accord with that of the Prince. It had been objected that the distances of the Colleges from one another and from Dublin created an insuperable difficulty in the way of this arrangement. To this objection Sir Robert attached no weight, and he dealt with it in a very characteristic way.

'The acquirement,' he says, 'of the degree of M. A. after a public examination,—the determining of the place in which the candidate for that Degree is to stand after a severe competition,—is an event in a man's life. It may be in many cases the most important one—the one having the greatest influence on his future destiny. It does seem to me absurd (excuse me for my frankness) to permit the inconvenience of a few hours' journey, and the expense of a second-class fare, to incline the balance by a hair's breadth in deciding this question. I declare I think it would be more rational to propose that the bachelors of the three Colleges should not be married out of Cork, Galway, and Belfast respectively, on account of the distances which separate these

localities from the fair sex of one another and of Dublin. If the youth of Galway are so far *adscripti glebæ* that the horizon of their life up to the period of manhood has been bounded by the Isles of Arran and the Twelve Pins of Bunabola, for God's sake for once bring them to Dublin. Give to some the excuse for coming, impose on others the obligation. I think an LL.D., who had never been out of Galway, had better remain there for his own sake and that of the College.'

With no less decision Sir Robert Peel disposes of the argument that the new University was undesirable, because it would have to contend with an ancient and flourishing University in Dublin. He believes, if the new Professors do their duty, they will be able to hold their own in honourable rivalry with Trinity College. 'But,' he adds, 'if the new institutions shall prove to be decidedly and irrecoverably inferior, no object (no public object, at least) will be gained by concealing their inferiority in provincial obscurity. . . . I will conclude,' he continues, 'with the expression of my firm belief, that these provincial Universities in Ireland, separate and independent, or formally and nominally combined in an aggregate University, not having substantial power and authority on the directing and controlling body, would have the stamp of provincial inferiority, and might tend by their isolation and exclusiveness to confirm rather than to soften and subdue those animosities and prejudices of race, religion, and locality, which ardent but not hostile competition in the fair field of academical distinction, and a common interest in the fame of the aggregate University, might gradually mitigate and ultimately extinguish.'

Lord Clarendon had been inclined to attach some weight to the objections thus combated by Sir Robert Peel. But he was convinced by the arguments of his correspondent, enforced as they were by the opinion of the Prince and that of Sir

James Graham, who advocated the same views at great length in a letter (30th August) to Sir R. Peel, in which he reminds him that they had both 'encountered much obloquy and made many sacrifices in the cause of Irish education, for the improvement of Maynooth, and in the struggle which gave birth to the new Colleges.' These views were adopted, and the question arose, who was to be the first Chancellor of the University? Both Lord John Russell and Lord Clarendon urged the Prince (12th October) to accept the office. In doing this they gave expression to a wish which was generally entertained. The Prince, however, decided at once that it would be a mistake to place himself in such a position, and communicated his resolution (15th October) in a letter to Lord John Russell. 'I never undertake,' he wrote, 'what I cannot carry out; and to superintend the starting into life of so important and difficult an experiment . . . . will require personal presence and uninterrupted attention, neither of which I can give to it. To assume the name and leave the work to others would throw much, perhaps all, the responsibility upon me, without giving me any efficient control over the conduct of those for whose acts I should become responsible. The position of the University may any day become a subject of political and party feuds, in which to find myself engaged would deprive me of that position of neutrality in which alone I can be useful as a support to the Queen and the throne. I shall always be most ready to give my advice and assistance, as far as they may be of any value, to the Government or to the University itself, but I think the Government should keep the responsibility.'

It was impossible to dispute the soundness of the Prince's conclusion, and the office of Chancellor was subsequently undertaken by Lord Clarendon. The Prince had already given unmistakeable proofs of his interest in these Colleges. His copy of the Draft of their Statutes is covered with his

marks, showing how much thought and study he had given to the subject, and many amendments and alterations of the greatest value suggested by him were adopted by the Board of the College, with warm expressions of acknowledgment for the assistance he had given to the cause of improved education in Ireland, by his attention to the subject of the Queen's Colleges. Ireland had suffered much, the Board wrote (*Letter to Lord Clarendon*, 7th September), from the want of sympathy and association in the different classes of society; and the example thus set by the Prince, they conceived, must be peculiarly fertile in good results, where rank was 'known to be associated with the intellectual cultivation which can fully appreciate the benefits of improved instruction, and with the prudence and judgment indispensable to him who would direct its course.'

CHAPTER XXXV.

In the celebrated Frankfort Fairs of the sixteenth century may be found the germ of the Industrial Exhibitions of our own era. Of what these were, the great Greek scholar, Henri Estienne, has left an animated description in his *Francofordiense Emporium*, published in 1574.[1] 'So great,' he says, 'and so diversified is the wealth of this market, that it in a manner comprises all others within itself, and they seem to be derived from it as rivers from their source, and as Rome was formerly called the Compendium of the World, so, methinks, I should speak within bounds were I to say that the Fair of Frankfort ought to be called the Epitome of all the Markets of all the World.' All the industrial products of Europe, those that ministered not only to the necessities but also to the refinements of life—books, pictures, sculpture, tapestry, the masterpieces of the armourer's, the goldsmith's, and the jeweller's art—were drawn together to this convenient commercial centre from all parts of the Continent of Europe. Every invention in machinery that could make one pair of hands do the work of many, or do work better than it had been done before, was sure to find its way there. It was a field where ingenuity of all kinds was certain of recognition. Great machines or simple devices to make domestic life easier or more comfortable were equally welcome.

[1] This very interesting brochure has been reprinted, with a translation, by M. Isidore Lisieux, under the title *La Foire de Frankfort* (*Exposition universelle et permanente au XVI^e Siècle*) *par Henri Estienne*. Paris, 1875.

Estienne turns away from the mention of 'machines of exceeding ingenuity and worthy of Archimedes himself, and numberless instruments adapted for use in the different arts,' to speak with admiration of an invention for roasting, which would supersede the services of a human turnspit.

The French were the first to adopt the idea of bringing together great public collections of works of art and industry with a view to the improvement of both. Exhibitions of this nature were held on a very considerable scale in Paris in 1798, the sixth year of the first Republic, and again in 1801, 1802, 1806, 1819, 1823, 1827, 1834, 1844, and 1849. Our own Society of Arts held several Exhibitions of the same kind upon a smaller scale. These had produced very beneficial results in raising the quality of our manufactures; and it seemed to the Prince that the time had come, when an Exhibition might be attempted, which would afford the means of showing what every country was able to produce in the shape of raw materials, in machinery and mechanical inventions, in manufactures, and also in sculpture, in plastic art, and generally in art as applied to manufactures. Such an Exhibition, if successfully carried out, could not fail to produce results of permanent benefit in many ways. To put the argument for it on the lowest grounds, it would enable the active spirits of all nations to see where they stood, what other nations had done and were doing, what new markets might be opened, what new materials turned to account, how they might improve their manufacturing processes, and what standards of excellence they must aim at in the general competition which steam and railroads, it was now seen, would before long establish throughout the world.

At a meeting in Buckingham Palace on the 30th of July, 1849, the Prince propounded his views to four of the most active members of the Society of Arts, Mr. Thomas Cubitt, Mr. Henry Cole, Mr. Francis Fuller, and Mr. John Scott

Russell. He had already settled in his own mind the objects of which the Exhibition should consist, and in these no material change was subsequently made. The Government, with whom the Prince had previously taken counsel, had offered the area within Somerset House for the purposes of the Exhibition. This was obviously too contracted, and various other sites were suggested; but that in Hyde Park, which was ultimately used, was proposed by the Prince even thus early, as affording advantages 'which few other places might be found to possess.' It was accordingly resolved to apply for it to the proper authorities; and the application met with the approval of the Government.

The first step to be taken manifestly was to ascertain whether such an Exhibition would be regarded with favour by the great body of manufacturers throughout the kingdom. Mr. Cole, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Digby Wyatt undertook the necessary inquiries. They were soon able to report—the two former coming to Balmoral for the purpose—that the idea was taken up with warm interest wherever they went, and that no jealousy or distrust was likely to lead to the withholding from the Exhibition any of the great discoveries in industrial machinery, which were especially looked to as likely to give distinctive value to the Exhibition. Means were taken to enlist the sympathies of our Colonies, and the East India Company were among the first to promise their active assistance. Communications were also opened with the Continental States; since upon the way they viewed the scheme much of its success would necessarily depend. In such matters a strong example does much, and this was set by France. So early as September of this year Lord Normanby was able, in writing to Colonel Phipps, to announce that the Prince President was much pleased with the idea, and entered into it heartily. Lord Normanby wrote, 'As these are matters to which the President has

always given much of his attention, one may be sure, if the idea is matured, of his doing all in his power to ensure its success as far as France is concerned.' As the arrangements went on this proved to be the case.

The Prince was scrupulously anxious that his project should make its way upon its own merits. He shrank at all times from notoriety, but he shrank still more from any suspicion that his high position was used to influence opinion, which, if left to itself, might run in an opposite direction. He was, therefore, somewhat annoyed by finding that his name had been prominently put forward at a public meeting in Dublin in September as the chief mover in the project. The time for public meetings had not yet come. What had been said of him at Dublin was no more than the truth, but he would have preferred that the scheme should have been discussed purely on its own merits. Mr. Cole, in developing the objects of the proposed Exhibition, had said that 'the various and conflicting interests of parties had been debated by the Prince with great ability, bearing on the question whether English, Irish, and Scotch manufacturers would be served or injured by confining the competition to the United Kingdom or throwing it open to the manufacturers of the whole world. The Prince was not moved to these inquiries by any man or body of men. It was his own spontaneous act, irrespective of external influences.' Mr. Fuller had followed this up, on the same occasion, by the remark, that among all the men Mr. Cole and himself had met in their inquiries at the great manufacturing towns of England and Scotland, in which they had heard the opinions of the most eminent men in trade and manufacture, 'the best informed man they came in contact with on all the points of their inquiry was the Prince himself.'

In forwarding the report of the meeting to the Prince, Colonel Phipps had spoken strongly of his dislike to hearing

the Prince's praises, 'however just, so loudly sounded by persons going about under an authority granted' by the Prince. 'One mischievous person,' he said, 'in even the best disposed meeting, might make this a foundation for much that would be disadvantageous to the plan and disagreeable to your Royal Highness.' He then went on to deprecate, as premature, the notion which had been mooted of a public meeting in London, adding, 'A meeting in a private room of some of the leading manufacturers and practical men of science, for the purpose of ample discussion, is, of course, a different thing altogether.' In reply the Prince wrote as follows :—

'Balmoral, 14th September, 1849.

'My dear Phipps,—I have to acknowledge three letters from you. I shall begin with the last in answering them, viz. Exhibition. You are quite right in the view you take about *public meetings*, and I would beg you to remind Mr. Cole that the strictest privacy was originally observed, and to caution him not to be drawn away by degrees from the original position. Praising me at meetings looks as if I were to be advertised and used as a means of drawing a full house, &c. &c. Mr. Cole excused himself about Dublin, and calls it an unexpected occurrence that newspaper reporters should have been present, and says the proceedings were incorrectly reported. In London additional caution will be required. Your letter to the Lord Mayor is quite right.'

The letter then diverges to a topic which, at all times, occupied much of the Prince's attention.

The active interest which he had shown in all measures for raising the condition of the working classes was, by this time, so fully recognised, that his advice and countenance were sought in the formation and management of every

society which had this object in view. The improvement of their dwellings he regarded as a first essential. Give them homes, he thought, to which they may be drawn by cheerfulness and comfort, and the boon will tell in improved health, sobriety, and domestic peace. It is to one of the Societies devoted to this object (The Labourer's Friend Society) that the Prince refers in the conclusion of the same letter:

'Now to the working classes. The Report is not so unsatisfactory as the items you have marked would make it appear. The Society professes to establish models only. These have been completed and have answered. Though the subscriptions for the general fund are very small, those for the different lodging-houses are large and have nearly covered the expense. The allotments are certainly too dearly managed. To improve the lodgings of the poorer classes in London, however desirable, just now would clearly be impossible for any Society. I feel like you that it is dreadful to see the sufferings at this moment, and to know that there is a Society which professes to work improvement, and to see none performed. I don't see what can well be done. When we get home I might see Lord Ashley and talk the matter over with him.'

A few days afterwards the Prince recurs to the subject:

'My dear Phipps,—. . . Now to the working classes (so called). The improvement of their condition can be aimed at practically only in four ways:—

'1. Education of the children with industrial training.

'2. Improvement of their dwellings.

'3. Grant of allotments with the cottages.

'4. Savings' Banks and Benefit Societies (if POSSIBLE, managed by themselves), particularly on sound economical

principles. I shall never cease to promote these four objects wherever and whenever I can, and you need not be afraid of urging the subject with me. I am just considering what can be done here, where the cottage accommodation borders on the Irish.[2] The price allowed for a cottage is 15*l.*!! Osborne has not hitherto been *pressed on*, because of the labour-market, which is another important consideration; Mr. Cubitt judging correctly that after the excitement which the great work must produce on the labour-market, we should keep the other works in hand, in order to spin out the employment and let it down by degrees, whilst building cottages, besides the great works, would have increased the temporary demand and stopped it suddenly afterwards.

'Allotments are getting pretty general.

'I see from the *Builder* that the bricklayers, masons, and carpenters, &c. &c. of London have established a Society on the plan of the Servants' Benevolent Association and find general support. When I come to England, more about all this.

'Ever yours truly,

'A.

'Balmoral, 20th September, 1849.'

On the 27th of September the Queen and Prince left Balmoral for Osborne, halting for a night, on the way, at Howick, on a visit to Lord Grey. A few days afterwards they received a severe shock in the sudden death of Mr. Anson, the Prince's first Secretary, and, afterwards, Privy Purse. 'Mr. Anson,' Lady Lyttelton writes (9th November),

[2] At Balmoral, as well as on the other Royal estates, the cottages are models of fitness, convenience, and comfort. Mr. Chadwick long ago said of them:—'If all the cottage property in the United Kingdom were maintained in the same condition as that of Her Majesty and the Prince Consort, the death-rate would be reduced more than one-third, or nearly one-half. It would be as if every third year there were a jubilee, and there was no sickness and no deaths.'

'is dead! Alas! that *I* should have to tell of *his* death; whom I thought, but three years ago, the image of health and youth, and power of mind and body. . . . It was yesterday. He had a slight cold; sat down at near one o'clock, complaining of a sudden pain over his eye; and fell down senseless. He never recovered consciousness, and died at three.' Mrs. Anson was beside him when he was seized. 'She has borne,' the Queen writes to King Leopold, 'almost the greatest shock and trial which any human being could; she was *alone* with him when he fell down and never recovered his consciousness—and nothing worse can ever happen to her.' To lose thus suddenly, in the vigour of manhood, the loyal and devoted friend and servant of ten years was a heavy blow. 'Every face,' says Lady Lyttelton in the letter already cited, 'shows how much has been felt; the Prince and Queen in floods of tears, and quite shut up. It is to them a heavy loss indeed; irreparable. I mean that so warm a friend they can hardly expect to find again, in ever so trustworthy and efficient a servant and minister.' Four days later she writes—'The Prince's face is still so sad and pale and grave, I can't forget it.' It was thus that he announced his loss to Baron Stockmar:

'Osborne, 9th October, 1849.

'Dear Stockmar,—I meant to have written to you to-day a long political letter in reply to your welcome lines of the 26th ult., but now I cannot. I have just had news of Anson's sudden death. Only yesterday evening I had a letter from himself, cheerful and well written. This being quarter-day, he intended going to London to pay the pensioners. He had a slight cold, and suddenly fell senseless from his chair, and did not come round again; in two hours he was dead. The poor wife is inconsolable.

'To me the blow is very painful, and the loss immense in a hundred ways.

'If you could come to me now, I should regard it as a great act of friendship.'

The loss was indeed heavy; but not, as Lady Lyttelton said, irreparable. A man so good and able as the Prince will always draw good and able men around him, and, by infusing his own spirit into them, secure the frank devotion of their best energies to his service. Such men the Prince found in Colonel Phipps, who took Mr. Anson's place as Privy Purse, and Colonel (afterwards General) Grey, who became his Secretary, filling these offices respectively down to the Prince's death. They were both men of strong character and exceptional ability, and no Prince was ever served by truer friends, or more capable officers.

The ceremony of the opening of the New Coal Exchange on the 30th of October of this year, though robbed of much of its interest by the absence of the Queen, who was prevented by an attack of chicken-pox from fulfilling her intention of opening it in person, was memorable as the occasion of first bringing into public notice the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal. The Royal party went from Westminster to the City by the river in the Royal barge, rowed by twenty-seven watermen. Lady Lyttelton writing, a few days afterwards, to Mrs. Gladstone, has preserved the incidents of the day in one of her vivid word-pictures:

'You want to know about the Royal City visit? It was magnificent, and delightful to see and hear. To me, who have little experience in such scenes, it was really most impressive. The weather was Italian—not a bit of fog, or cold, or wind. St. Paul's seen as clearly as a country church up to the cross, and *on the cupola* sat many people. Every inch of ground, every bridge, roof, window, and as many vessels of all sorts as could lie on the river, leaving our ample passage clear, were covered,

close packed, with people. And the thought, that all were feeling alike, both for the Queen and the poor little fair-headed child they cheered, was overpowering. He and his sister behaved very well, civilly and nicely. But they could not of course feel all that I felt. The Prince was perfect in taste and manner, putting the Prince of Wales forward, without affectation, and very dignified and kind himself.

'The most striking time to me was, after landing, the procession, along a long covered gallery, which held many thousand people, each side of the Prince and children. The cheers close to us, and the countenances, every one looking so *affectionately*, quite like parents, on the two little creatures, stretching over one another to see and smile at them, I shall never forget. The Rotunda is handsome, and was filled all over with people in full dress, like the Opera House, and they made a thundering applause, clapping hands, as soon as the Royal party came in . . . What a striking curious thing is that loyalty! And how deep and strong in England! ——'s speech was most pompous, and he is ridiculous in voice and manner. And his immense size, and cloak, and wig, and great voice, addressing the Prince of Wales about his being the "pledge and promise of a long race of kings," looked quite absurd. Poor Princey did not seem at all to guess what he meant. . . .

'The Queen was wretched at being prevented from going to see the children received on their first state occasion. Everybody in full dress; liveries like the State Drawing-Rooms; and all sorts of old feudal city customs, the swans (live ones) *in their barge*, with their keeper, the Lord Mayor's barge, quite dazzling, just ahead of ours, and he and all the functionaries in *new* robes of scarlet cloth or crimson velvet. And such floods of sunshine all the time, and an incessant thundering of "God Save the Queen!" by a succession of bands; and the bells, and the Tower guns!—enough to drive one mad.'

The strange contrasts of human life, its mingled gaiety and sadness, its alternate brilliancy and gloom, are nowhere more sharply felt than in a Royal home like that of England. '*Hier wird's gefreit, und anderswo begraben*—'

'Tis here a bridal, there a burial,' says a Mountaineer in Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell.* So is it with all who have homes, and friends and kinsfolk to love and be loved by. But where the number of persons in whom an interest is felt is so large, where the public cares and duties are so wide and various, as they are in the Palace, the chances and changes of life, its pleasures and its sorrows, crowd one upon another with unusual rapidity and force. In the midst of the splendours of the scene just described, the Prince's heart was heavy with the thought, that one who was very dear to the Queen and to himself was drawing slowly on in pain the last days of an honoured life. For some time the Dowager Queen Adelaide had been very ill, and, in a few days, he was, along with the Queen, to make his last visit to her. 'I shall never forget,' says the Queen, writing (27th November) to King Leopold, 'the visit we paid to the Priory [Stanmore] last Thursday. There was death written in that dear face. It was such a picture of misery, of complete *anéantissement*, —and yet she talked of everything. I could hardly command my feelings when I came in, and when I kissed twice that poor, dear thin hand. . . . I love her so dearly. She has ever been so maternal in her affection to me. She will find peace and a reward for her many sufferings.'

These were brought to a close on the 2nd of December. The 'Special Gazette,' which announced her death, bore testimony to the 'many eminent virtues' which 'rendered her the object of universal esteem and affection.' But of more value is such a tribute as that paid to her in the following letter by the Queen to her uncle at Brussels:

'Osborne, 4th December, 1849.

'I know how truly you will grieve with us for the loss of our dearly beloved Queen Adelaide, though for her we must

not repine. Though we daily expected this sad event, yet it came as suddenly, when it did come, as if she had never been ill, and I can hardly realise the truth now. You know how *very* kind she was at all times to me, and how admirably she behaved from the time the King died. She was truly motherly in her kindness to us and to our children, and it always made her happy to be with us, and to see us! She is a *great* loss to us both, and an irreparable one to hundreds and hundreds. She is universally regretted, and the feeling shown is very gratifying. Her last moments were, thank God, very peaceful, and it was hardly an hour before she died that they perceived the approaching end. She spoke half an hour before, and knew those around her. . . .

'Poor Mama is very much cut up by this sad event, and to her the Queen is a very great and serious loss.

'The dear Queen has left the most affecting directions (written eight years ago) for her funeral, which she wishes should be as private as possible. She wishes her coffin to be carried by *sailors*,—a most touching tribute to her husband's memory, and to the Navy, to which she was so much attached!'

A few days brought to the Queen a letter from her sister, the Princess Hohenlohe, then at Baden—a letter which was the echo of her own sentiments of gratitude and affection towards Queen Adelaide. 'What you say,' it bore, 'is most true: she has left behind her love, respect, and gratitude, and she was ever ready to go to her place of eternal rest, where she will find that happiness which she never knew here. . . . Let us think of her bliss after this life of suffering, which she spent in doing good to thousands, who will bless her memory. . . . Let her life be an example to us!'

Such and so dear was this good Queen to those who knew

her best. 'There was a daily beauty in her life,' which impressed all who had eyes to see, and hearts to feel. Yet even this nature, so devoted, so pure, so void of blame, which was a living rebuke to the frivolity or worse of those who hatch and propagate the impure gossip, which is always more or less current in certain circles of so-called 'society,' was not spared by its prurient malice, while she lived, and has not escaped the more cowardly shafts of posthumous slander.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

In the aspect of Europe at the close of 1849, there was little to cheer the political observer. The storm of revolution had been quelled, but it had left many wrecks behind it, many burning animosities, many baffled aspirations, in which the elements of brooding disquiet and ultimate conflict were plainly visible. Of the momentous problems, social and political, which it had brought to the front, none had in truth been solved. The cause of order had, no doubt, triumphed. In England and Belgium, this triumph was due to the perfect accord between the people and the Government. But of which of the other great kingdoms of Europe could this be said? If they were tranquil, the tranquillity was that of exhaustion, or of a despair, that felt itself powerless before the overwhelming material forces of Governments, who now showed little disposition to use with moderation the power which they had reconquered with so much difficulty.

France, the first to fall into disorder, had been the first to set about the work of reorganisation. She had shown, by the election of Louis Napoleon as President, the determination to put an end to the social despotism of the men who had made her the sport of their insane theories. Twice had the revolutionary leaders in Paris,—on the 29th of January, and again on the 13th of June, 1849—endeavoured, by a rising of the mob, to recover the influence they had lost; but the firmness of the President, seconded by the prompt and de-

cided action of General Changarnier, had crushed their movements, and happily without bloodshed. An armed revolt of the Socialists in Lyons, on the 15th of June, had been no less effectually suppressed after hard fighting; and from this time, wherever anarchy attempted to rear its head, it was confronted and put down with an energy which satisfied the strong conservative instinct of the country. To this instinct the President continued to appeal, in his endeavours to give to France a Government which should restore confidence at home and respect abroad. So far he had succeeded; but the difficulties of the task on which he had entered were only begun. Who might tell whether he would be strong enough to carry France with him in the view which he announced in his address to the Assembly, at the end of October, of 'the necessity of a single and firm direction,' or be driven from power by the democratic party, who were fully alive to the significance of this language, and resolved to dispute to the uttermost the principle which it involved?

In Italy, again, the prospects of constitutional freedom were dark indeed. Her struggles had only resulted in placing her more than ever at the mercy of the absolute Governments which had so long stifled her energies and afflicted her people with a moral atrophy. The Two Sicilies were prostrate at the feet of a king from whom they were irrevocably alienated. Austria had not only reasserted her hold upon the Northern provinces; she had also advanced her troops into Tuscany to restore the sovereignty of the Grand Duke, and had reinstated under their bayonets the dethroned Princes of Parma and Modena. Rome was occupied by the French, ostensibly with the object of restoring the temporal supremacy of the Pope, but not without great suspicions of ulterior designs as to the disposal to their own advantage of the central provinces of the Italian peninsula.

Hungary was for the time disabled, and compelled to renounce the claim to independence, which her people were yet determined never to forego. The severity with which the Austrian Government had visited their revolted subjects, both in Italy and Hungary, had embittered the rancour of defeat, and had drawn upon them the obloquy of Europe. Their triumph through Russian aid had been dearly purchased; and it was foreseen, that at no distant period they would discover how fatally they had erred in joining with the other absolutist Powers in a policy of reaction, instead of striving by generous conciliation to make their dissatisfied subjects forget the bitter past.[1]

Set free from present anxiety within her own frontiers, Austria soon showed her determination to maintain at all hazards the hold upon Germany, to throw off which the national party there were now assured was the first step towards the accomplishment of their aims. It was no less the policy of Russia than of Austria to prevent the consolidation of Germany into a great European Power; and in this policy, France, jealous of the counterpoise of such a Power in European counsels, and ever hankering after the Rhine as a frontier, was ready to combine. But the impulse towards unity had been given; and although the King of Prussia was neither strong enough nor firm enough to pursue the bold

[1] 'The rulers of Austria,' Lord Palmerston wrote (9th September, 1849) to Lord Ponsonby, our ambassador at Vienna, 'have now brought their country to this remarkable condition, that the Emperor holds his various territories at the good will and pleasure of three external Powers. He holds Italy just as long as and no longer than France chooses to let him have it. The first quarrel between Austria and France will drive Austria out of Lombardy and Venice. He holds Hungary and Galicia just as long as and no longer than Russia chooses to let him have them. The first quarrel with Russia will detach those countries from the Austrian crown. He holds his German provinces by a tenure dependent in a great degree upon feelings and opinions which it will be very difficult for him and his Ministers either to combine with or stand out against.'—*Life of Lord Palmerston*, by the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, 1876, vol. i. p. 141.

course, which he had by his hesitation lost the opportunity of prosecuting with success while Austria had her hands fully occupied in the revolts in Italy and Hungary, he kept alive the national sentiment by seeking to draw into closer union such of the States as were prepared to recognise him as their natural leader.

It was essential, that something should be done forthwith towards the legislative reconstruction of Germany. The German Confederation of 1815 had been dissolved. The Frankfort National Assembly to which it had delegated its functions had crumbled to pieces. With its disappearance, the Central Power, which had been created by a decree of this Assembly and was to have been carried on by a Government responsible to it, had unquestionably ceased to exist. Such, at least, was the view of Prussia. Austria, on the other hand, who would gladly have seen the whole power of the old German Confederation in the hands of one of her own Archdukes, upheld the right of the Archduke John as *Reichsverweser* to be considered the sole representative of this Confederation, and the sole depositary of the executive power. The conflict between the Powers had been reconciled for the time by an agreement to place the executive in the hands of a mixed Austrian and Prussian Commission.[2] But still the main question remained—How was Germany to be reconstituted, so as to secure constitutional government to her States, and unity of purpose and action at home and abroad?

Now that the revolutionary movement had been put down by military force, this question had been thrown back for solution into the hands of the dynasties of the different States, with all their jealousies and susceptibilities drifted onwards

[2] The Archduke John resigned his power on the 20th of October, 1849. into the hands of General Schönhals as representative of Austria, and of General Radowitz as representative of Prussia.

upon the tide of reaction. 'No solution must be expected from that quarter,' are the emphatic words of the Prince in a memorandum on the German question, dated 3rd of December, 1849, which he submitted to Lord John Russell. The fears of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover, for the stability of their own thrones, were now at an end, and with them vanished the pledges which they had given by their sanction to the National Assembly, that a Federal Constitution should be granted, embracing the whole of Germany, and securing national unity in all imperial questions. Austria desired nothing better. With a stroke of her pen she had, by the Constitution propounded at Kremsier, incorporated her German provinces, which formed part of the German Confederation, into a Federal State with part of Italy and Poland, with Hungary, Croatia, Illyria, Transylvania, and a host of other States. But while claiming for herself the right to dispose of these provinces, without consulting the other members of the Confederation to which they belonged, she was bent on preventing any step which should draw the numerous German States into closer union, and tend to cement them into a nation capable of holding its own among the great European States.

The King of Prussia, on the other hand, was bound by every tie of honour no less than of interest to keep faith with the national sentiment. He was pledged, to use his own words in addressing his Chambers (7th August, 1849), 'to form a Federal Constitution, which may be compatible with the benefit of the whole, and the rights of single parties. The unity of Germany, with a single Executive Power at its head, secured by popular representation with legislative powers, was and is the object of our endeavours.' The King had so far put himself right with his own subjects by granting them a new Constitution on a liberal basis, to which he pledged himself by a solemn oath on the 6th of February,

1850. He had some time before engaged the sympathy of the whole constitutional party, by summoning a Federal Parliament to meet at Erfurt in March, to consider the draft of a new Federal Constitution. But all the reactionary forces were now at work, backed by the influence of Russia and of Austria, to prevent as many of the States as possible from sending representatives to this Parliament, and thereby to render its action ineffectual.

It will thus be seen how much cause for anxiety there was in the state of Europe at the close of 1849. England had hitherto kept clear of collision. In the conflicts by which the Continent had been shaken during the two last years, she had been called upon to play no part, but that of mediator. But immediately after the close of the Hungarian war, our Government found itself compelled to adopt an attitude towards Russia and Austria, which, for a time, threatened to involve us in war. The danger arose in a quarter where it might least have been expected. Kossuth, Bem, Dembinski, and a large body of Hungarian and Polish exiles, had taken refuge in the Turkish dominions. A formal demand for their extradition was made upon the Sultan by the Cabinets of St. Petersburg and Vienna, to which his Government replied by a determined refusal, on the ground that the fugitives, not having violated any Turkish law, nor used their retreat for purposes hostile to either Austria or Russia, for Turkey to surrender them would be to violate the laws of hospitality, and to sacrifice her own honour. Finding that the Ottoman Government were not to be shaken by remonstrances or threats, Baron de Titoff and Count Stürmer, the respective Ambassadors of Russia and Austria, intimated the suspension of diplomatic relations between their own Courts and that of the Sultan. In this extremity, threatened as he was with the superior forces of the two great absolutist Powers, the Sultan turned for support to England and to

France. It was given promptly and in the most effective form.

The English Government addressed a remonstrance to Russia, appealing to the Emperor's generosity and good faith in language, conciliatory indeed, but which showed unmistakeably that they would not shrink from supporting their appeal by force. As it proved, the Emperor of Russia had withdrawn his demand even before this appeal reached him. But his indignation was roused on finding that, without waiting to see its effect, our Mediterranean fleet had been directed to move towards the Dardanelles, to be ready to act, if called on, in support of Turkey. In carrying out these instructions, too, it had violated a treaty of July, 1841, by which foreign ships of war were forbidden to enter the Dardanelles while the Porte was at peace—a mistake, if mistake it was, which was not mended by the excuse afterwards set up in apology, that the fleet had been driven within the forbidden limits by stress of weather. For this plea, it was well known, there was no foundation; and the Emperor of Russia, if so disposed, might no doubt have treated the action of our fleet as a *casus belli*. He did not, however, do so. The feeling of the English people spoke out strongly in favour of the action of the Government. Neither Russia nor Austria were in a position to push matters to extremity. The demand for the surrender of the fugitives was withdrawn, and in its stead a request made, that Turkey should keep them in confinement and not permit them to leave the country. Some of them, Bem and Dembinski among the number, solved the difficulty by becoming Mussulmans. Nearly two years elapsed before Kossuth and some others of the most conspicuous exiles were allowed to emigrate to other countries; and the Emperor of Russia, wounded to the quick by the prompt movement of our fleet to the support of Turkey, cherished a bitter remembrance of a

somewhat too eager defiance of his power, which henceforth coloured his political relations to this country.

The severe strain of the last two years had at this time begun to affect the Prince's health. On the 25th of January the Queen writes from Windsor to Baron Stockmar, who had come to England in November: 'The Prince's sleep is again as bad as ever, and he looks very ill of an evening.' His doctor advised a complete change of scene, of life and air, as the only thing to set him right. This, the Queen thought, might be effected by a short trip to Brussels. 'For the sake of his health,' Her Majesty adds, 'which I assure you is the cause of my shaken nerves, I could quite bear this sacrifice. He *must* be set right before we go to London, or God knows how ill he may get.'

But Parliament was on the point of reassembling, which it did upon the 31st of January: the Queen's health was for the moment delicate, and the Prince had so much upon his hands requiring his constant attention, that he would not entertain the idea of even the briefest holiday. Every day was now showing how formidable was the task he had undertaken in reference to the Exhibition of 1851. An Executive Committee had to be organised, and communications had to be established with all parts of the civilised world, to ensure their contributions within good time. The question of the extent of the building to be erected, and of how the space was to be allotted among the different countries, was still undetermined. The all-important problem, how the necessary funds were to be obtained, was becoming daily more difficult. Public attention had to be arrested and public sympathy secured, meetings to be organised, and distinguished men to be pressed into the service to make the speeches, to remove misgivings, and to canvass for support. All who were embarked in the enterprise felt that

it was to the Prince they must turn for guidance at every point. On the 8th of March we find Lord Granville writing to the Prince's secretary: 'In any case, I am afraid that there must be a great tax on the attention and time of his Royal Highness, who appears to be almost the only person who has considered the subject both as a whole and in its details. The whole thing would fall to pieces, if he left it to itself.' That it did not do so, it is, however, but justice to say, was due in no small degree to the unwearied assistance given to the Prince by Lord Granville himself, and by Mr. (now Sir) Stafford Northcote.

Meanwhile, amid all the difficulties and impediments which were inseparable from an enterprise so novel and of such vast proportions, the Prince was encouraged to persevere by the warm support of those on whose opinions he set the highest value. His old instructor and friend, M. Quetelet, wrote to him in January from Brussels: 'Assuredly I shall not fail to go to England, and to be present, if I can, in that vast arena, which you have opened to the industry of all nations. These are the tournaments of our modern times; they are less poetical perhaps than those of ancient times, but they also have their character of grandeur. Your Royal Highness has thoroughly apprehended the social transformation which is now in progress, and in placing yourself at the head of this great movement, you give a fresh proof of your sagacity and a fresh guarantee for the order and prosperity of the country of your adoption.'

On the 21st of February the first of the great public meetings on the subject was held in Willis's Rooms. Among the speakers, France was represented by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Prussia by the Chevalier Bunsen, America by Mr. Lawrence, Belgium by M. Van de Weyer, while Lord Brougham and the Bishop of Oxford helped with others to

sustain the discussion at a level far beyond that of most public meetings. The speech, able throughout, of Lord Morpeth, afterwards Lord Carlisle, who presided, was much admired at the time for the happy reference to his favourite poet, with which it concluded:—

'I cannot,' he said, 'better sum up all that may be said, than in words written nearly a century and a half ago by a poet who always expresses himself with more point and completeness than any other man. I refer to Alexander Pope. He says:—

'"For me the balm shall bleed, the amber flow,
The coral redden, and the ruby glow;
The pearly shell its lucid globe unfold,
And Phœbus warm the ripening ore to gold;
The time shall come ——"

'Listen, ladies and gentlemen, and see if Pope was not almost as good a prophet as he was a poet:

'"The time shall come, when, free as seas or wind,
Unbounded Thames shall flow for all mankind,
Whole nations enter with each swelling tide,
And seas but join the regions they divide;
Earth's distant ends our glories shall behold,
And the new world launch forth to seek the old."'

'Morpeth,' the Duchess of Sutherland[3] writes to the Queen the same day, 'never spoke better, and his prophetic quotation from Pope's beautiful passage on the Thames was enthusiastically cheered.'

The time had now come for the Prince to place before

[3] The Prince had no warmer admirer than this accomplished and most estimable lady. In a letter to Baron Stockmar about this time (16th March) the Queen writes: 'I must ever love the Duchess of Sutherland for her very great and very sincere admiration of the Prince, which comes out on all occasions. There is not a work he undertakes, nor a thing he does or says, which she does not follow with the greatest interest, being herself so anxious to do good, so liberal-minded, so superior to prejudice, and so eager to learn, and improve herself and others.'

the world in his own words his conception of the scope and purpose of the proposed Exhibition. The opportunity for doing so was afforded by a banquet given upon a magnificent scale at the Mansion House on the 21st of March, to which the chief officers of State, the Foreign Ambassadors, the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition, and the chief magistrates of more than two hundred towns, had been invited. The Prince had by this time accustomed the public to expect much from his addresses; but in broad and comprehensive grasp of view and in condensed fulness and vigour of expression, none of them was superior to the speech which he now made. The prospect which it shadowed out of the great family of man, drawn together by the bond of mutual helpfulness and enlightened emulation in the arts of civilised life, had been the dream of poets and sages. No one knew better than the Prince, profoundly versed as he was in the history of the past, and still more in the stormy politics of the present, that this must long continue to be a climax, seen only in prophetic vision, of the throes and struggles of the human race, and that the halcyon days of universal peace were certainly not to be looked for in the present epoch, nor it might be for many generations to come. But his eminently practical genius saw that the time had arrived to give such an impulse towards this desirable result, as might greatly accelerate its arrival, and that it was from England this impulse might most fitly come. 'England's mission, duty, and interest,' he had written to Lord John Russell on the 5th of September, 1847, 'is to put herself at the head of the diffusion of civilisation and the attainment of liberty.'[4] She might lose some of her material advantages, by teaching other nations the arts and methods by which she had developed her internal resources, and commanded the

[4] See his letter printed *ante*, vol. i. p. 433.

markets of the world. She might draw upon herself a competition in these markets, which might otherwise have long been postponed. But the same energy, the same intellectual activity which had put her in the van of nations, the Prince believed, would enable her to hold her place under any alteration of circumstances. In any case, whatever might be said by detractors of her insular narrowness and selfishness, he understood her people too well to doubt that they would see with pleasure the spread throughout the world of the blessings which they had conquered for themselves, and be content to run even considerable risks in accelerating that better understanding of each other, without which the unity of mankind is impossible. The general satisfaction created by the parts of his speech now to be quoted showed that in this estimate of British feeling he had not been mistaken :—

'I conceive it to be the duty of every educated person closely to watch and study the time in which he lives, and, as far as in him lies, to add his humble mite of individual exertion to further the accomplishment of what he believes Providence to have ordained.

'Nobody, however, who has paid any attention to the peculiar features of our present era, will doubt for a moment that we are living at a period of most wonderful transition, which tends rapidly to accomplish that great end, to which, indeed, all history points—*the realisation of the unity of mankind.* Not a unity which breaks down the limits and levels the peculiar characteristics of the different nations of the earth, but rather a unity, the *result and product* of those very national varieties and antagonistic qualities.

'The distances which separated the different nations and parts of the globe are rapidly vanishing before the achievements of modern invention, and we can traverse them with incredible ease ; the languages of all nations are known, and their acquirement placed within the reach of everybody ; thought is communicated with the rapidity, and even by the power, of lightning.

On the other hand, the *great principle of division of labour*, which may be called the moving power of civilisation, is being extended to all branches of science, industry, and art.

'Whilst formerly the greatest mental energies strove at universal knowledge, and that knowledge was confined to the few, now they are directed on specialities, and in these, again, even to the minutest points; but the knowledge acquired becomes at once the property of the community at large; for, whilst formerly discovery was wrapped in secrecy, the publicity of the present day causes that no sooner is a discovery or invention made than it is already improved upon and surpassed by competing efforts. The products of all quarters of the globe are placed at our disposal, and we have only to choose which is the best and the cheapest for our purposes, and the powers of production are intrusted to the stimulus of *competition and capital.*

'So man is approaching a more complete fulfilment of that great and sacred mission which he has to perform in this world. His reason being created after the image of God, he has to use it to discover the laws by which the Almighty governs His creation, and, by making these laws his standard of action, to conquer nature to his use; himself a divine instrument.

'Science discovers these laws of power, motion, and transformation; industry applies them to the raw matter, which the earth yields us in abundance, but which becomes valuable only by knowledge. Art teaches us the immutable laws of beauty and symmetry, and gives to our productions forms in accordance to them.

'Gentlemen,—the Exhibition of 1851 is to give us a true test and a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived in this great task, and a new starting-point from which all nations will be able to direct their further exertions.

'I confidently hope that the first impression which the view of this vast collection will produce upon the spectator will be that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which He has bestowed upon us already here below; and the second, the conviction that they can only be realised in proportion to the help which we are prepared to render each other; therefore, only by peace, love, and ready assistance, not only between individuals, but between the nations of the earth.'

Leopold I. King of the Belgians

Engraved by F. Cole from a full length Portrait by J. Winterhalter.

Printed in 1845

In the possession of Her Majesty at Buckingham Palace

London Published by Smith Elder & Co 15 Waterloo Place

The enthusiasm, with which this speech was received, was well calculated to encourage the Prince under 'the immeasurable difficulties' which at the close of his speech he said would have to be overcome in carrying out the scheme the full extent of which even he could not at present measure. His audience, among whom were the representatives of all the municipalities of the kingdom, carried this enthusiasm back with them, and they were not likely to forget the words with which Sir Robert Peel on the same occasion concluded one of his best speeches: 'You will return with a firm resolution that this noble undertaking, to which the character and honour of England are now committed, shall not fail, but shall be borne triumphantly through every obstacle by the energy and determination of the British people.'

Congratulations poured in upon the Prince from all sides. The assurance, that his cherished scheme had taken hold of the hearts of the people was far more precious to him than the praises of his eloquence. These came to him from the press in no measured terms, especially from those journals, which were the least disposed to credit Princes with liberal opinions, or an active interest in making men happier and better. Writing of the speech to the Queen, the Duchess of Sutherland condensed her admiration in a single sentence. 'How entirely worthy I thought it of himself!' With natural pride the Queen tells King Leopold (26th March) that the speech had given the greatest satisfaction, and done great good. 'Albert,' Her Majesty adds, 'is indeed looked up to and beloved as I could wish he should be; and the more his rare qualities of mind and heart are known, the more will he be understood and appreciated. People are much struck by his great power and energy; by the great self-denial, and constant wish to work for others which are so striking in his character. But this is the happiest life. Pining for what one cannot have, and trying

to run after what is pleasantest, invariably end in disappointment.'

These were pleasant words, confirming as they did the faith which had led King Leopold to select the Prince as the consort for his niece. Highly, however, as he rated his nephew's powers, even he seems to have found it hard to believe, that a speech of such a character should have been spoken, not read. The Queen hastens a few days later to assure him, in answer to a letter written under this impression, that the Prince spoke this, as he did all his speeches, having first prepared and written them down. 'This,' Her Majesty adds, 'he does so well, that no one believes that he is ever nervous—which he is.'

In another letter of the Queen's to her uncle some days afterwards (2nd April), this passage occurs: 'Good Stockmar is too partial to me; to Albert he never can be enough so, for what he does, and how he works, is really prodigious, and always for the good of others. I am sometimes anxious lest he should overwork himself, and, in fact, he was not well in the autumn and winter; but he is, thank God, quite well again now.'

For bodily disorder brought on by mental fatigue—and the Prince's illness was of this nature—there is no such medicine as success. So far, this had attended him in the great venture on which he was now fairly embarked, and with it had come many unmistakeable signs, that he had not striven in vain to win the confidence of his adopted country,—that confidence, which, as he had himself said, was of slow growth, but which, whether he should win it or not, it was a necessity of his nature that he should deserve. Within the next few days he received a gratifying proof, that his efforts had not been in vain, and from a quarter, where confidence was most to be desired.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The breaking-up of Parliament for the Easter recess enabled the Queen and Prince to escape from town for the enjoyment of a brief holiday at Windsor Castle. The country and its pursuits at all times wrought a charm upon the Prince's spirits, and it is obvious, from the following passage in a letter of the Queen's to Baron Stockmar (6th April), that a respite from labour had not come to him an hour too soon. 'Of ourselves I can give you, I am happy to say, the best account. My dearest Prince has, thank God, been giving himself a rest, and was himself astonished at his disinclination to work, which Sir James Clark was delighted at. It is absolutely necessary to give the brain rest to enable it to work again with advantage, and I always am uneasy, lest he should overstrain his powers. We have enjoyed being here very much, and I have been out a great deal.'

In this interval of comparative rest, which, however, was filled with an amount of work sufficient for the energies of the most active brain, the Prince found time to devise a system for the utilisation of sewage, which he subsequently perfected, with the assistance of Mr. Lyon Playfair, and applied with success on the Osborne estate. 'I think,' he writes to Baron Stockmar, 'I have made an important discovery "for the conversion of sewage into agricultural manure" and "drainage of towns." This has become for England an important public question. All previous plans would have cost millions, mine costs next to nothing.' Fil-

tration from below upwards, through some appropriate medium, which retained the solids, and set free the fluid sewage for irrigation, was the principle of the scheme. Where the fall of the ground is considerable, as it is at Osborne, the arrangement works cheaply and with effect; but this is the condition which, in the case of towns, is almost always wanting. The hopes of the Prince that he had done something towards solving what still remains one of the most urgent of our social problems, were, therefore, disappointed.

The Prince had, during the stay at Windsor, to consider and dispose of a proposition by the Duke of Wellington, which came upon him by surprise, that he should succeed the Duke in the office of Commander-in-Chief. On the 3rd of April the Duke, who was then on a visit to the Castle, submitted his views in an interview with the Queen and Prince. The same day a brief entry in the Prince's Diary records that he was himself 'not very eager for the plan.' And it is curious to observe that within the next few days this Diary contains more entries about his sewage scheme, which he hoped might result in a great public good, than about a proposal, which had in it so much to flatter the self-esteem, and to captivate the ambition of even the least selfish.

In the letter to Baron Stockmar just quoted, Her Majesty says, 'The Prince will write to you soon upon some important conversations he had with the Duke. It is a pleasure and a wonder to see how powerful and how clear the mind of this wonderful man is, and how honest and how loyal and kind he is to us both. His loss, when it comes, will be a thoroughly irreparable one.' To Baron Stockmar the Prince himself writes, two days later:—

'Dear Stockmar,—To-day I have an excellent opportunity

for writing to you, but no time to do so. I confine myself to telling you that the question, whether or not I am to be Commander-in-Chief after the death of the old Duke, has been discussed by me with him, when he brought it forward as a plan which had been cherished by him for years, and expressed with the utmost frankness the political importance to myself of my adoption of his plan. Herewith I send you copy of my letter to the Duke, in which the result of our conference and my final decision are contained. Of the latter I hope you will approve, of the former I have made full notes, which I will show you when you come back. The occasion seemed to me peculiarly apt for putting on record in writing my views as to my own position. The Duke's answer will show you that he accepts them as sound, and Lord John, to whom to-day I gave the notes and the letter to read, has also expressed himself to the same effect.

'Buckingham Palace, 8th April, 1850.'

The following are the notes referred to in the Prince's letter, and which have hitherto been only partially made public :—

'Windsor Castle, 3rd April, 1850.

'I went yesterday to see the Duke of Wellington in his room after his arrival at the Castle. Our conversation soon turning to the question of the vacant Adjutant-Generalship,[1] asked the Duke what he was prepared to recommend? He said, he had had a letter from Lord John Russell on the subject, recommending the union of the two offices of Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General; and he placed his answer to it in my hands. He then proceeded to say, that he thought it necessary, that we should cast our eyes a little before us. He was past 80 years, and would next month

[1] The office had become vacant by the death, in March, of Sir James Macdonald.

enter upon his 82nd year. He was, thank God! very well and strong, and ready to do anything, but he could not last for ever, and in the natural course of events, we must look to a change ere long. As long as he was there, he did the duty of all the offices himself. . . . To form a new office by uniting the duties of Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General in the person of a Chief of the Staff (as was the practice in some foreign armies) would be to appoint two different persons to do the same duty, which would never answer. The Chief of the Staff would again have to subdivide his office into an Adjutant-General's and a Quartermaster-General's department, as at present, and nothing would be gained.

'However, the Duke saw the greatest advantage in having a Chief of the Staff, if after his death that arrangement should be made, which he had always looked to and which he considered the best, viz. *that I should assume the command of the Army.*

'He was sure I could not do it without such a Chief of the Staff, who would be responsible before the public, and carry on the official communications with the other Government departments. For this contingency he was prepared to organise the machinery now, and he would answer for its success. . . .

'I answer to the Duke that I should be very slow to make up my mind to undertake so great a responsibility; that I was not sure of my fitness for it, on account of my want of military experience, &c. &c. (to which the Duke replied, that with good honest intentions one could do a great deal, and that he should not be the least afraid on that score), whether I could perform the duties consistently with my other avocations, as I should not like to undertake what I could not carry through, not knowing what time and attention they would require. The Duke answered, that it

would certainly require both time and attention, for nothing could be done without my knowledge or without my order, but that the detail would be worked out by the Chief of the Staff; he had thoroughly considered that and would make it work. . . .

'Upon my touching the Constitutional bearings of the question, he said that he was most anxious, on that account, that I should assume the command, as with the daily growth of the democratic power the executive got weaker and weaker, and that it was of the utmost importance to the stability of the Throne and Constitution, that the command of the army should remain in the hands of the Sovereign, and not fall into those of the House of Commons. He knew that as long as he was there the matter was safe enough; he had well calculated the strength of his position, and knew, he said, "that the democrats would blow me up if they could, but they find me too heavy for them." He always stood up for the principle of the army being commanded by the Sovereign, and he endeavoured to make the practice agree with that theory, by scrupulously taking on every point the Queen's pleasure, before he acted. But, were he gone, he saw no security, unless I undertook the command myself, and thus supplied what was deficient in the Constitutional working of the theory, arising from the circumstance of the present Sovereign being a lady. Strictly constitutionally, I should certainly be responsible for my acts, but before the world in general the Chief of the Staff would bear the responsibility, and for that office the man of the greatest name and weight in the army ought to be selected.

'He repeated that he thought this the most desirable arrangement, and would at once work it out to the best of his ability. . . . I begged him to leave me time to consider the proposal.'

The discussion was resumed by the Duke the same

evening in an audience with the Queen. What passed was recorded by the Prince next day in the following memorandum:

'3rd April, 1850.

'Yesterday evening the Queen gave the Duke of Wellington an audience, I being present. After having set out by saying he was most anxious to let the Queen know and feel all he knew and felt about it—in fact, to *think aloud*—the Duke repeated what he had said to me in the morning, and we discussed the question further.

'I said that there were several points which still required to be considered. Supposing, for instance, a revolution or riot to break out, the Commander-in-Chief would have to quell it, and to take the necessary steps of repression, as the Duke had to do on the 10th of April, 1848. Would it be advisable that the responsibility of shedding the blood of the people should fall on the Queen's Consort, which might carry the unpopularity unavoidably attending it to the person of the Sovereign? We had the case of the Prince of Prussia before us, who was compelled to fly the country after the revolution at Berlin, on the mere supposition that he had commanded the troops on that occasion.

'The Duke replied, he had considered all that. In fact, the sovereign himself might find it his duty to place himself at the head of his troops; and surely, in the Queen's case, that duty ought to devolve upon me.

'I continued, that the offer was so tempting for a young man, that I felt bound to look most closely to all the objections to it, in order to come to a right decision.

'There was another point. The Queen, as a lady, was not able at all times to perform the many duties imposed upon her; moreover, she had no private secretary who worked for her, as former sovereigns had had. The only person who helped her, and who could assist her, in the

multiplicity of work which ought to be done by the sovereign, was myself. I should be very sorry to undertake any duty which would absorb my time and attention so much for *one* department, as to interfere with my general usefulness to the Queen. The Queen added, that I already worked harder than she liked to see, and than she thought was good for my health, which I did not allow—answering that, on the contrary, business must naturally increase with time, and ought to increase, if the Sovereign's duties to the country were to be thoroughly performed; but that I was anxious no more should fall upon her than could be helped.

'The Duke seemed struck with this consideration, and said he had not overlooked it, but might not have given it all the weight it deserved, and that he would reflect further upon it.

'We agreed at last that this question could not be satisfactorily solved unless we knew the exact duties which had to be performed; and the Queen charged the Duke to draw up a memorandum in which these should be detailed, and his general opinion explained, so that we might found a decision on that paper. This the Duke promised to do.

'Windsor Castle, 4th April, 1850.

'After a good deal of reflection on the Duke of Wellington's proposal, I went to pay him a visit yesterday morning in his room, and found him prepared with his memorandum, which he handed to me. After having read it, I said to him that I must consider my position as a whole, which was that of the consort and confidential adviser and assistant of a female sovereign. Her interest and good should stand foremost, and all other considerations must be viewed in reference to this, and in subordination to it. The question then was simply whether I should not weaken my means of attending to all parts of the Constitutional position alike—

political, social, and moral,—if I devoted myself to a special branch, however important that might be, and that I was afraid this would be the consequence of my becoming Commander-in-Chief. It was quite true that the Sovereign being a lady naturally weakened her relation to the army, and that the duty rested upon me of supplying that deficiency, and would do so still more when the protection which the Duke afforded to the Crown should be unfortunately withdrawn. But I doubted whether this might not be accomplished without my becoming especially responsible for the command of the army. There was no branch of public business in which I was not now supporting the Queen, and that the army might become more especially an object of my care and attention, as the support of the husband was still more required in that respect; but that, to be able to give this, I required an insight into the government of the army, which the few formal communications passing between the Duke and the Queen did not afford me. It would of course be highly presumptuous of me to ask the Duke to submit his proceedings to my consideration, and I could not for a moment expect this from him, but with a new Commander-in-Chief a more direct intercourse between us might become advisable.

'"Good God," interrupted the Duke, "I shall be too happy to make your Royal Highness acquainted with every step I am taking, and I think this would be better done by me at once, than left for the future. The Queen has only to give her orders. But I tell you what I recommend, do it now, and order it afterwards."

'I expressed my gratitude for the Duke's readiness and confidence, and particularly for the inestimable use to me to receive as it were a military education under *his* tuition, but I was most anxious that, while the Queen should not be overrun with more business, I should not cause him either any additional labour. He might only put papers, which he

thought I ought to see, into a box, and send them to me. I would not detain them long, and, whenever anything should strike me, I would mention it, and he would be so good as to set me right on the subject.

'The Duke replied he should be delighted to do so, and would begin this work at once. He felt the extreme difficulty and delicacy of it, and was kind enough to add that he approved of, and the public did full justice to, the way in which I had hitherto maintained it. I begged him to leave me a little time for consideration, that I wanted to study his memorandum, and would finally write to him upon the subject.'

Two days afterwards the Prince wrote to the Duke the following letter:

'My dear Duke,—The Queen and myself have thoroughly considered your proposal to join the offices of Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General into one of a Chief of the Staff, with a view to facilitate the future assumption of the command of the army by myself.

'The question whether it will be advisable that I should take the command of the army or not has been most anxiously weighed by me, and I have come to the conclusion that my decision ought entirely and solely to be guided by the consideration whether it would interfere with or assist my position of consort of the Sovereign, and the performance of the duties which this position imposes upon me.

'This position is a most peculiar and delicate one. Whilst a female sovereign has a great many disadvantages in comparison with a king, yet, if she is married, and her husband understands and does his duty, her position, on the other hand, has many compensating advantages, and, in the long run, will be found even to be stronger than that of a male

sovereign. But this requires that the husband should entirely sink his *own individual* existence in that of his wife—that he should aim at no power by himself or for himself—should shun all contention—assume no separate responsibility before the public, but make his position entirely a part of hers—fill up every gap which, as a woman, she would naturally leave in the exercise of her regal functions—continually and anxiously watch every part of the public business, in order to be able to advise and assist her at any moment in any of the multifarious and difficult questions or duties brought before her, sometimes international, sometimes political, or social, or personal. As the natural head of her family, superintendent of her household, manager of her private affairs, sole *confidential* adviser in politics, and only assistant in her communications with the officers of the Government, he is, besides, the husband of the Queen, the tutor of the royal children, the private secretary of the sovereign, and her permanent minister.

'How far would it be consistent with this position to undertake the management and administration of a most important branch of the public service, and the individual responsibility attaching to it—becoming an executive officer of the Crown, receiving the Queen's commands through her Secretaries of State, &c. &c.? I feel sure that, having undertaken the responsibility, I should not be satisfied to leave the business and real work in the hands of another (the Chief of the Staff), but should feel it my duty to look to them myself. But whilst I should in this manner perform duties which, I am sure, every able General Officer, who has gained experience in the field, would be able to perform better than myself, who have not had the advantage of such experience, most important duties connected with the welfare of the Sovereign would be left unperformed, which nobody *could* perform but myself. I am afraid, therefore, that I

must discard the tempting idea of being placed in command of the British army.

'On the other hand, nobody can feel more strongly than I do, that the theory of the British Constitution being, that the Sovereign commands the army, and this having been hitherto the practice also, it is a source of great weakness to the Crown, ... that the Sovereign, being a lady, cannot exercise that command as she ought, and give the Commander-in-Chief that support which he requires under ordinary circumstances, and that consequently it becomes my additional and special duty to supply the wants in this respect, and to bestow particular care and attention on the affairs of the army.

'As long, however, as your Grace holds the Command-in-Chief, this support is in no way required. On the contrary, the Crown may be said to receive support from the unexampled strength of your position in public opinion; and for me to attempt any personal control on your direction of the affairs of the army would be ridiculously presumptuous. I have in consequence carefully abstained from assisting the Queen in this respect; but as you were so good as to say that it would give you pleasure to establish more direct and intimate communication with me, and that you thought this communication had better be established now with you as Commander-in-Chief, than attempted at a future time (which I hope may be long distant) by an order given by the Queen to your successor, I most gratefully accept this offer, and wish most especially to express to you my sense of the advantage which will result to me, and through me to the Queen, by my thus receiving instruction and tuition in military affairs from the greatest master of them. I have only one scruple, viz. that I might add to your trouble, and already sufficiently onerous labours, and would therefore repeat my request that you would merely put into a box and

send me such papers as you thought it might be advantageous for me to peruse: I promise not to detain them long. . . .

'Ever yours truly,

'ALBERT.

'Windsor Castle, 6th April, 1850.'

The Duke had obviously weighed well before receiving this letter the objections to his proposal which had been urged in person by the Prince, for on the evening it reached him he replied, expressing his complete concurrence in the Prince's views, and adding that he had already ventured to express how sensible he was of the nature of the Prince's position, and of the judicious manner in which he had overcome its difficulties.

It has been already mentioned that Lord John Russell, before whom the Prince lost no time in laying the documents above quoted, also agreed in the conclusions come to. 'He thought,' says a Memorandum by the Prince (14th April), 'the strain on attention and time, which the duties of the Command-in-Chief would impose upon me, would be even greater than the Duke had anticipated. To-day,' the Memorandum continues, 'I have also shown my letter to Sir Robert Peel, who was kind enough to call it "an admirable letter," to which he could not have added a word. He then entered, as he always does on being consulted on an important question, into the full merits of it, looking at it from all points of view. He said, the Duke's opinion, although of the highest value, was not unbiassed upon this particular question. Accustomed to command, he saw no difficulties, and had in 1828 been very much annoyed with him (Sir Robert), when he objected on Constitutional grounds to the Duke's keeping the Command-in-Chief, when he became Prime Minister, which the country would not have tolerated, although the Duke could not be made to see it.

'He said, all the Duke had urged upon the score of democracy, and the importance of keeping the army in the hands of the Sovereign, was quite true; but I had been right in not neglecting more important duties for this one consideration, and that very likely my control as husband of the Queen would be more effective, than it would be as Head of the Department. He did not wish to say, that I should bind myself never to take the command, for he could conceive complications and chances, in which it would become my duty to assume it, and in which the country would call for it; but my letter had not debarred me from such action. On the contrary, it had been put upon record, that it would be done contrary to personal inclination, and solely on public grounds.'

Baron Stockmar's reply to the Prince has apparently not been preserved; but that the conclusion arrived at had his thorough approval cannot be doubted. So far back as in 1842 (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 150), the same proposal had been discussed between Lord Aberdeen and himself. He had then discouraged it in the strongest terms and for substantially the same reasons that governed the decision of the Prince. Time had since made these reasons more cogent than they were in those comparatively early days, and no one knew this better than the Baron. But, having never hinted to the person chiefly concerned what had been contemplated in 1842, he might well be pleased—knowing what he knew of the Prince, he could not be surprised—to find his own views expressed with a fulness and a force, which showed the sincerity of the conviction out of which they sprung.

When the Prince next wrote to Baron Stockmar, it was to communicate the birth of another son.

'You will have been growing as impatient as ourselves,' he writes on the 1st of May, 'that our protracted expectations should eventuate in a result; and now you will rejoice

with us over the result—a little son, and mother and child well and healthy. God be thanked and praised for this happy issue, for there is always some anxiety about matters of this sort!'

To the Dowager Duchess of Coburg he announces the event in more playful terms on the same day :—

'I congratulate you to-day on the birth of a seventh grandchild, and expect in return good wishes from you on the birth of a third son. This morning about a quarter-past eight, after a rather restless night (being Walpurgis night, *that* was quite appropriate), while the witches were careering on the Blocksberg (under Ernst Augustus's mild sceptre), a little boy glided into the light of day, and has been received by the sisters with *jubilates*. "Now we are just as many as the days in the week!" was the cry, and then a bit of a struggle arose as to who was to be Sunday. Out of well-bred courtesy the honour was conceded to the newcomer.

'Victoria is well, so is the child, and I am driven distracted with letters, inquiries, answers, &c. This compels me to break off my chat with you before it is well begun.

'I take up my hat and am making for the door, when you call to me—"But you have not said 'Adieu!' to Mama. Fa, so!" Now I must really be off.

'Buckingham Palace, 1st May, 1850.'

The coincidence of the birthday of the young Prince with that of the Duke of Wellington gave the Queen and Prince the opportunity of marking their friendship and esteem for one, of whose devotion to them they had had so many proofs, by naming the child after him. So strong, so immediate, was their feeling on this point, that they did not allow the day to pass without intimating their intention to the Duke. 'It is a singular thing,' the Queen wrote to

Baron Stockmar, 'that this so-much-wished-for boy should be born on the old Duke's 81st birthday. May that and his beloved father's name bring the poor little infant happiness and good fortune!'

All went well, and the Prince was able a few days later to cheer the heart of Baron Stockmar, then gravely troubled with the unhopeful state of the Constitutional question in Germany, with the following letter:

'Dear Stockmar,—I write to-day to keep you *au courant* of the steady recovery of the Queen. Victoria and the baby are both quite well. . . . He is to be called Arthur William Patrick Albert. His first name is in compliment to the good old Duke, on whose eighty-first birthday he first saw the light. Patrick is in remembrance of our recent visit to Ireland;[2] William, of the Prince of Prussia [now Emperor of Germany], whom we shall ask to be godfather, and also in remembrance of poor Queen Adelaide, on whose account we have also selected the Duchess Ida of Saxe-Weimar [Queen Adelaide's sister] as godmother. My name the Queen insists on retaining by way of *coda*. I hope you will approve the arrangement.

'The Exhibition is making good progress. . . .

'Buckingham Palace, 6th May, 1850.'

On the 22nd of June the young Prince, now the Duke of Connaught, was baptized at Buckingham Palace, the old Duke and the present Emperor of Germany being present in person as sponsors.

[2] Had the incident been remembered, which is recorded p. 207 *ante*?

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Up to this time the business of Parliament had moved on very quietly. Trade was brisk, manufacturers busy, labour in demand. The result was seen in reduced poor-rates, and an increase of ten millions upon the exports of 1849 as compared with those of 1848. The Revenue at the end of the same financial year showed a surplus of two millions and a quarter, notwithstanding the recent large reductions in the Customs duties; and the advocates of Free Trade were able to point with some satisfaction to these facts as the best proof of the soundness of their principles. The agricultural interest certainly did not share in the general improvement. Sufficient time had not yet elapsed to enable the farmers to adjust their operations to the new state of things induced by the unfettered import of corn, and a succession of indifferent harvests had added to their difficulties. Their voice was accordingly still heard in occasional tempestuous public meetings, demanding a return to the old system of Protection. But this their Parliamentary leaders knew to be impossible; and Mr. Disraeli had, early in the session, sought a remedy for their grievances in another direction, by moving for a Committee of the whole House to consider whether these might not be alleviated by some portion of the burden of local taxation being removed from the land and thrown upon the general revenue. The facts of the wide-spread agricultural distress, on which he grounded his motion, were controverted by Sir Robert Peel and others, at

least so far as the distress was to be attributed either to recent legislation, or to permanently operative causes. His motion, however, commanded no fewer than 252 votes in its support, including that of Mr. Gladstone, and was only defeated by the narrow majority of 21.

The closeness of this division was one of many indications that the Ministerial majority might at any time fail them. It was largely composed of independent Members,—of very advanced Liberals, who had views of their own, which were constantly bringing them into conflict with the Government,—of a contingent, not always tractable, of Irish Members,—and of the adherents of Sir Robert Peel, who might be counted upon for loyal support of a domestic policy, which hitherto had received their cordial approval, but who, it was well known, had long regarded the spirit in which our Foreign policy had been conducted with apprehension and distrust. This was not a docile phalanx of supporters, such as Ministers love to lean upon, and which so often lulls them into a false security.

The discussions on the relations between the mother country and the Colonies, which arose on the introduction on the 8th of February by Lord John Russell of a measure for giving to our Australian Colonies a more popular form of government than they had hitherto enjoyed, very early brought further evidence, that although the Ministerial bark 'might not be lost' in the storms of the session, it would most certainly be sorely 'tempest-tossed.' The Government were compelled to accept large amendments on the measure in the House of Commons, and to see still further modifications forced upon them in the House of Lords. Their Budget, also, introduced by Sir Charles Wood on the 15th of March, was severely handled, and they were even driven to withdraw two successive proposals for dealing with one of its most material items. Projects of retrenchment were pressed

upon them from both sides of the House. Mr. Cobden on the 8th, and Mr. Henry Drummond on the 13th, brought forward separate resolutions in favour of the reduction of public expenditure. These were negatived in both cases by large majorities. But when Lord Duncan, at a later period, moved for the total and immediate repeal of the window duty, the Government could only command a majority of three in favour of a tax, which public opinion had long condemned,—its mischievous operation having been everywhere felt in making our houses not merely ugly and uncouth, but comfortless and unhealthy.[1] The supineness or insubordination of their followers placed the Government in a more awkward position soon afterwards (30th May), when Lord Ashley (now Lord Shaftesbury) moved a resolution for an Address to Her Majesty, with the object of preventing the collection and delivery of letters for the future on Sunday through all parts of the kingdom. The motion was carried by 93 votes against 68. Well knowing what a tempest of remonstrance such a measure was certain to provoke, the Government resolved to put it into effect. They could not have taken any more effectual means of disposing of the question once and for ever. For some weeks Lord Ashley enjoyed the distinction of being the best abused man in the kingdom. The inconvenience was felt to be intolerable, and the House of Commons, by another resolution, which was carried by 195 to 112, on the 9th of July, enabled the Government to restore the arrangements of the Post Office to their former footing.

If, as these and other incidents of the session showed, the Government were not strong in themselves, they were strong in the disorganisation of parties, which made any other Government for the time impossible. The Opposition could not desire to force on a crisis, which they clearly were in no

[1] It was repealed in the following year.

position to turn to their own advantage. But a question of Foreign policy, which attracted attention early in the session, assumed, as it advanced, a character which, for a time, seemed to threaten the existence of the Ministry.

The country had gone heartily with them in the energetic measures which they had taken jointly with France to support Turkey against the dictatorial claims of Russia and Austria. Here they were helping the weak against the strong, and upholding a great principle of public law, in the maintenance of which every civilised State was interested. Whether a grave mistake had been committed or not, in allowing our fleet to enter within the prohibited boundaries of the Dardanelles, was a question, the merits of which the public were little able to appreciate, and about which they cared not at all. Our naval force had at least been employed for a worthy purpose, and the purpose had been effected. But a very different feeling was excited when the country learned that, on the 17th of January, 1850, the same fleet, stronger and more numerous than that which won the battle of the Nile, had appeared at the Piræus with a peremptory demand for a settlement by the Greek Government within twenty-four hours of certain alleged claims by British subjects; and, this demand not having been complied with, that the fleet had blockaded the port and laid an embargo on both the Government and merchant vessels which they found there. A proceeding of this character, directed against a weak State like Greece, excited no small surprise; nor was this diminished when the nature of the claims came to be understood, to enforce which it had been adopted. These consisted chiefly of a demand by a Mr. Finlay for the value of a small piece of land, which had been taken from him for the purpose of including it in the garden of King Otho, and of another by Don Pacifico, a Portuguese Jew, for compensation in respect of losses through the pillage of his house by an

Athenian mob. Mr. Finlay, alone of several owners in the same position with himself, had refused the terms offered by the Government. He had paid 10*l.* for the land in question, and he now demanded 1,500*l.*

Don Pacifico estimated his losses at no less than 31,534*l.*, of which about 2,181*l.* was for furniture, and nearly 27,000*l.* for certain alleged claims on Portugal, the original vouchers for which he represented to have been destroyed when his house was sacked. Neither Mr. Finlay nor Don Pacifico had sought to establish their claims in the courts of the country. Upon the face of them they were exaggerated, and in Don Pacifico's case not merely exaggerated, but more than doubtful. Yet in the peremptory demand upon the Greek Government they had been assumed at the amounts stated, and reprisals had been made to cover these amounts.

As Turkey, under the menaces of Austria and Russia, had recently appealed to England and France, so did Greece now, powerless against the force thus brought to bear upon her, appeal to France and Russia for support. Joined by treaty as these countries were with ourselves in guaranteeing the independence of Greece, their Governments were deeply hurt that we should have resorted to the last remedy for such grievances as we might have had, without first seeking their good offices to secure redress. Their representatives at Athens hastened to tender their good offices to Mr. Wyse, our envoy there, in arranging a settlement of the dispute, but as Mr. Wyse's instructions left him no discretion on the subject, their offers were rejected. When the tidings of what had occurred reached St. Petersburg, Count Nesselrode conveyed the remonstrances of Russia in a despatch (19th February) to Lord Palmerston, couched in language which was afterwards justly characterized by Lord Stanley 'as deeply painful to a British subject to read as addressed to a British Minister, but doubly painful when he reflects that, bitter, imperious, offensive as

the language is, it was not more bitter, more imperious, more offensive than the provocation.'[2] France, whose goodwill it had hitherto been our study to conciliate, and who had so lately combined her remonstrances with ours against the attempt to coerce Turkey, had even stronger cause of complaint, although in the unsettled state of her affairs at home she could less afford to adopt the somewhat menacing tone of the Russian Minister. Affecting to believe that our agents in Greece had misunderstood our instructions, the French Cabinet appealed to Lord Palmerston for an explanation, and were informed by him that there had been no mistake. The affair was one which concerned only Greece and ourselves. The Greek Cabinet had trifled with our appeals, and we were strictly within our right in seizing property sufficient to cover our unsatisfied claims.

In sending his original instructions to Mr. Wyse and the Admiral of our fleet, Lord Palmerston had probably calculated that active measures of reprisal and blockade would not have been required, but that the Greek Government, under the pressure of a hostile demonstration, would have yielded to his demands.[3] At all events, he could scarcely have anticipated the general feeling of surprise and indignation which the proceedings at Athens excited both abroad and at home. However lightly, therefore, he might affect to treat the matter in his first reply to the French Government, he must have felt somewhat relieved when their ambassador, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, a few days afterwards (5th February), proposed the good offices of his Government in obtaining a

[2] Debate in House of Lords, 18th June, 1850.

[3] In a letter to the Queen (30th November, 1849), Lord Palmerston says he 'does not apprehend that any active measures of this kind will be required, but rather expects that when the Greek Government finds, that the demand is made in earnest, and that means are at hand to enforce it, satisfaction will at last be given.' It was well for England, seeing to what narrow dimensions these extravagant claims were subsequently reduced, that the Greek Government did not succumb.

satisfactory adjustment of the claims in question. This offer was renewed in writing on the 7th of February, and officially accepted on the 12th by Lord Palmerston, in a despatch in which he stated that orders should be 'immediately sent to the Admiral commanding Her Majesty's squadron in the Greek waters to suspend at once all coercive measures, and to continue so to suspend them during the negotiation which the French Government is about to set on foot.' The French Government lost not an hour in making the arrangement known to M. Thouvenel, their envoy at Athens, who heard of it on the 19th of February. But it was not till the 2nd of March that the official announcement reached the British envoy. As in the meantime the measures of coercion had been applied with increased stringency, the French were not disposed to look with much favour upon the somewhat unsatisfactory explanations assigned by our Government for this delay. Hence a soreness and distrust on their part was created, which another incident in the course of the negotiation aggravated into serious proportions.

Baron Gros, the Commissioner despatched by France, in pursuance of the arrangement come to, reached Athens on the 5th of March. He entered at once upon an investigation of the claims at issue, and upon all these, with the exception of Don Pacifico's, he ultimately arrived at a practical agreement with Mr. Wyse. Even that part of the Don's claim which arose from the sacking of his house might have been adjusted; but no evidence was forthcoming to show what value was to be attached to his claim on the Portuguese Government, or to the papers alleged to have been destroyed on that occasion, by which it could have been supported. Mr. Wyse, however, insisted on payment of a sum of 150,000 drachmas on this last account, and official negotiations were broken off on the 21st of April; Baron Gros at the same time offering to act unofficially between Mr. Wyse and the

Greek Government in trying to bring matters to a settlement.

Meanwhile, the French Government, rightly thinking that the matter in difference might be more promptly and satisfactorily concluded in England than at Athens, had continued, through M. Drouyn de Lhuys, their negotiations with Lord Palmerston. These had resulted in a Convention on the 18th of April, which disposed of the whole questions in dispute. A sum of 8,500*l.* was to be paid by the Greek Government to the English Minister at Athens, to be distributed by him among the different claimants, and they were also to pay whatever might hereafter be found due in respect of Don Pacifico's Portuguese claims by two arbitrators and an umpire, to be named by M. Gros, Mr. Wyse, and the Greek Prime Minister, M. Londos. 'The amount of these,' Lord Palmerston wrote to the Queen (15th April), 'is not likely to be great, if indeed anything should prove to be due on that account.' Before this Convention was actually signed, the French Government despatched a steamer to the Piræus to announce to Baron Gros the basis of the proposed agreement. It reached the Piræus on the 24th of April, and on the evening of that day Baron Gros communicated the tidings to Mr. Wyse. But again that gentleman had been left without any instructions from England. Not a word had reached him, was his reply, 'which would authorise him to depart from the course already prescribed,' which was to renew the measures of coercion. They were renewed accordingly, and on the 27th the Greek Government determined to submit unconditionally to Mr. Wyse's demands, viz. immediate payment of 180,000 drachmas, or about 6,500*l.*, in settlement of the claims other than those of Don Pacifico on Portugal, and a deposit of 150,000 drachmas to meet what might ultimately be found due on an investigation of these claims.

It might have been thought that this miserable affair, in which it was strongly felt that the dignity of England had somewhat suffered, would now be very promptly arranged. France had at least shown herself loyally disposed to heal the breach which had arisen. Her wounded pride had been somewhat soothed by the fact that Russia had left the negotiations entirely in her hands, and it was of importance to her that they should not prove fruitless. Her Government, therefore, naturally expected that what had occurred at Athens would make no difference in carrying out the Convention agreed upon in London. It was indeed more onerous, as to the amount of the indemnity, than the terms exacted by Mr. Wyse, but in other respects it was more favourable to Greece. In any case, that it had not reached Athens in time was due, as we maintained, to accident; and the simple course to remove all distrust upon this head was to assure the French Government, that the arrangement made with them should be frankly carried out. This course Lord Palmerston unfortunately did not adopt; but, resting upon the nicely technical argument that, Baron Gros having declared his official action as mediator at an end on the 21st of April, we were free to resume our reprisals, he took his stand upon the arrangement which had been concluded at Athens.

After all that had passed, it was not to be thought that the French Government could accept such a reply with patience. M. Drouyn de Lhuys, having failed to persuade our Foreign Secretary to abandon a decision which he represented would be construed by France as an affront, wrote to head-quarters for instructions. These came in the shape of a recall, which M. Drouyn de Lhuys communicated to Lord Palmerston on the 14th of May. The same day Lord John Russell announced the fact by letter to the Prince, 'with great concern,' to which the following reply was returned:

'My dear Lord John,—Both the Queen and myself are *exceedingly sorry* at the news your letter contained. We are not surprised, however, that Lord Palmerston's mode of doing business should not be borne by the susceptible French Government with the same good humour and forbearance as by his colleagues. Ever yours truly,

'ALBERT.

'Buckingham Palace, 15th May, 1850.'

Next morning Lord John Russell announced to the Prince, for the information of the Queen, that the Cabinet were to meet that day, in the hope of finding some way of soothing the irritated feeling of the French Government. In his reply the Prince says:—'As to Greece, I think the treaty, once having been signed, ought to be adhered to in good faith, notwithstanding the fact, that *accident* has given Mr. Wyse better terms. This would at once put an end to the doubt, whether it was through accident or design that Mr. Wyse received the official news of the protocol so late.'

It happened that the Queen's birthday this year was celebrated on the 15th of May, and it was remarked that neither the French, the Russian, nor the Bavarian ambassadors were present at the usual official dinner given on these anniversaries by the Foreign Secretary. The departure of the French Ambassador from London at such a time inevitably gave rise to surmises that something serious had occurred, and the next evening Lord Brougham asked for explanations on the subject in the House of Lords. Lord Lansdowne, in reply, represented the departure of M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the anniversary of Her Majesty's birth as purely accidental, and in no way connected with any disposition or design to manifest any slight or disrespect either to Her Majesty or to this country. In the House of Commons, on the same evening, Lord Palmerston, in reply to a similar inquiry by Mr. Milner Gibson, went further, and stated that

it was well known the French Ambassador had gone to Paris to be the medium of communication between the Governments as to that portion of the claims which related to Don Pacifico's demands on Portugal, adding that he trusted nothing could arise out of these circumstances likely to disturb the friendly relations between the two countries.

It was, therefore, with something more than surprise that the public read in next day's *Times* the proceedings in the French Chamber, in which General de la Hitte announced, amid loud acclamations, the recall of their Ambassador, 'his further residence in London being no longer compatible with the dignity of the Republic.' The pain of the Queen and Prince, that any members of the Government should have laid themselves open to the charge of equivocation, which was made on all sides at home, and was sure to be re-echoed abroad, could not be otherwise than great. The gravity of the situation also was further augmented by the intimation made to them by Baron Brunnow, the Russian Ambassador, on the 18th, of his conviction that, so soon as the Emperor of Russia heard what had lately occurred, he would take some decided step which would lead to the Baron's recall. Explanations subsequently took place which averted this result; and, after the first explosion of indignation in the French Chambers, calmer conclusions were certain to be arrived at in Paris. 'The ground of our difference with France,' the Prince wrote (20th May) to Baron Stockmar, 'is so simple that it cannot possibly lead to war, though likely enough to produce a state of feeling which, should any critical question arise, may help to bring about such a result.'

But our Government was, by this time, seriously alarmed. The French Cabinet held its ground: and at last a solution of the difficulty was come to, which the Prince had recommended at the first, by an agreement to substitute the

stipulations of the London Convention of the 18th of April for those clauses of the arrangement concluded at Athens upon the 27th, which had not been already executed. Years elapsed before the sum to be paid to Don Pacifico was settled by the arbitrators. It was found to be about a thirtieth part of the amount originally demanded!

Thus for claims which in the end were shown to be amply met by less than 10,000*l.*, our Mediterranean fleet had been put in motion; we had endangered such influence in Greece as yet remained to us there, and thrown her more than ever into the arms of Russia—a matter of no slight moment in the event of any adverse movement from that quarter upon Turkey; we had put to the strain our friendly relations with France, and, what struck home to English feeling more deeply than all, we had called down upon ourselves the imputation of having used our strength to enforce terms from a weak power, which we should not have ventured to demand from a strong one, nor tolerated, if asked from ourselves.

Lord Stanley had given notice on the 13th of May, that he would call the attention of the House after the Whitsuntide recess to our proceedings at Athens. But in deference to the request of Lord Lansdowne to postpone his motion, so as not to endanger the negotiations then pending with France, he had twice agreed to delays, and it was not till the 18th of June, therefore, that the discussion was taken. It was protracted till three in the morning, and was remarkable, even among the great debates of the Upper House, for the display of power which it called forth on both sides. No fewer than 301 Peers voted; and by a majority of 37 the House affirmed Lord Stanley's resolution, that while it 'fully recognised the right and duty of the Government to secure to Her Majesty's subjects residing in foreign States the full protection of the laws of those States, it regretted to find, by the correspondence recently laid upon the table by Her Majesty's com-

mand, that various claims against the Greek Government, doubtful in point of justice, or exaggerated in amount, have been enforced by coercive measures directed against the commerce and people of Greece, and calculated to endanger the continuance of our friendly relations with other Powers.'

When, a month previously, we had been brought into a critical position with both France and Russia, the mischief to the country, and the embarrassment to the Ministry, resulting from the aggressive temper in which our communications with Foreign Governments generally had been conducted by Lord Palmerston, no less than from his management of the Greek question, had forced upon Lord John Russell the determination 'no longer to remain in office with Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary.'[4] But the motion of Lord Stanley was then hanging over the heads of the Government. It was obviously directed mainly against Lord Palmerston, and Lord John Russell was too loyal to allow a colleague to be made the scapegoat for the sins of the Government, even if so constitutional a Minister could have consented to recognise any distinction in such a case between the individual Minister and the Government as a body. Moreover, the general foreign policy of the Government had been impugned, incidentally to the discussion in the House of Lords, and it was therefore impossible to avoid taking a decision by the House of Commons on the subject.

The opportunity for doing so was afforded upon a motion brought forward there by Mr. Roebuck on the 25th of June, affirming that the principles on which the foreign policy of the Government had been regulated were calculated to maintain the honour and dignity of the country, and, in times of un-

[4] This determination Lord John Russell communicated to the Queen in a letter on the 18th of May, 1850, in which he states: 'I feel strongly, that the Queen ought not to be exposed to the enmity of Austria, France, and Russia, on account of her Minister.'

exampled difficulty, to preserve peace between England and the various nations of the world. It was good policy to couch this motion in terms to draw away the discussion from the course pursued in reference to the Greek claims, where the task of defence would have been by no means easy, to the larger question of the general action of the Government, which, however open to attack in details, and however it had resulted in estranging from us the goodwill of other countries, had, at all events, not involved us in armed conflict with any European State. That result was tangible, and could be understood by all. On the other hand, the full details of what had caused us to be looked upon abroad with extreme dislike and distrust could not be made public, and those which were known were of a nature to be thoroughly appreciated only by men trained to statesmanship, and accustomed to take into account the views and feelings of nations and governments different from our own. The Government had, moreover, a strong point to make in the argument, that it had been their principle to leave democracy and despotism to fight out their own battles; and there was a large section of the House of Commons who thought none the worse of them, if their Foreign Secretary, while accepting this general principle, had gone a long way in taking up the side of democracy in the fight.

A large and more influential section of the House, however, took a very different view. Their charge against the Government was, that by constant interference in the affairs of other countries, it had violated its own professed principle of non-intervention; and that the time had come to protest before the world, that this country was true to that principle, and repudiated the systematic deviation from it, which had been illustrated by our action thoughout the Italian peninsula, in Spain, in Portugal, and in Austria. Looking to the way the question was brought forward, and

the men by whom the attack upon the Government policy was conducted, it is impossible to read without surprise that Lord Palmerston regarded it 'as a shot fired by a foreign conspiracy, aided and abetted by a domestic intrigue.'[5] Lord Stanley, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Canning, and Lord Brougham, among others, in the Upper House—Sir James Graham, Sir William Molesworth, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Gladstone, Lord John Manners, Mr. Cobden, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Disraeli, in the Lower—with other men of the most diverse political views and connections, all combined in this attack. Credulous, indeed, must the man have been, or blinded by personal pique, who could accept the assumption that statesmen of such a stamp could be the instruments either of foreign conspiracy or of domestic intrigue. It may be classed with the still more extraordinary hallucination on the part of Lord Palmerston, with which we shall hereafter have to deal, that his removal from office at the time of the French *coup-d'état* in 1851 was due to a cabal of the despotic Courts of the Continent in concert with our own![6]

[5] See his letter to his brother, of 8th July, 1850, printed at p. 225, vol. i. of Mr. Evelyn Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*. An ill-informed political partisan in the passion of party debate could scarcely have been excused for indulging in this kind of extravagant statement; but the assertion was constantly made at the time in some of the journals, and more than hinted even in Parliament,—upon whose suggestion it is no longer difficult to surmise. 'We hear gentlemen,' said Mr. Gladstone, in the debate on Mr. Roebuck's motion, 'when they find the other portion of Christendom differing from us in opinion, coolly designating them all a knot of foreign conspirators.' Sir Robert Peel, on the same occasion, disposed of the suggestion by Mr. Cockburn (now Lord Chief Justice), that the combination of men of opposite political views against the Government was due to a 'dishonourable conspiracy,' with a view to supplanting them in office, by asking, 'Is it not possible for the hon. gentleman to speculate upon the possibility that men in this House may intend to give their votes without reference to political combinations? Does he exclude the possibility of that course of action, which arises from a conscientious conviction as to the truth?'

[6] This extraordinary statement appears in Mr. Evelyn Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. i. pp. 316–17, in a letter from Lord Palmerston to his brother, of 22nd January, 1852.

Nothing can be more certain than that the adverse vote of the House of Lords had been asked for and given in order to efface the stain from the honour of the country, which the majority conceived to have been brought upon it by Lord Palmerston's proceedings in Greece. The step was probably inevitable, but no one could have regretted more than the Queen and the Prince the embarrassing position in which the Government were placed by it, and the necessity to which it led for a further agitation of the whole subject of our foreign policy in the Commons. Whatever way the debate might terminate, trouble was only too likely to ensue. A defeat of the Government could scarcely fail to reveal the fact that no efficient Government could be formed from the incongruous ranks of their opponents; while their success might still further aggravate the distrust with which our foreign policy was regarded everywhere abroad. Happily the debate was conducted on both sides with a tone and temper, which laid to rest any apprehensions that might previously have been entertained on the last of these grounds.

It was indeed a memorable debate, which will always rank high in Parliamentary annals for the fine display of eloquence and intellectual power by which it was distinguished. Without a note, without pause, or hesitation, or sign of fatigue, Lord Palmerston vindicated through nearly five hours the principles and proceedings of his long career as Foreign Secretary, holding even his adversaries in a spell of admiration, not unmixed with wonder, at a mental and physical effort so remarkable in a man of sixty-six. 'No man,' Mr. Gladstone owned in the course next day of a speech of unusual power, in which he dissected with merciless logic a large portion of Lord Palmerston's defence, 'had listened with greater admiration than himself, while from the dusk of one day to the dawn of the next, he defended his policy, before a crowded House of Commons, in that

gigantic intellectual and physical effort.' And Sir Robert Peel,—who, as if unconsciously giving to the House, in this his last speech, a legacy of the ripest fruits of his political experience, by which they should long remember him, never spoke in a nobler spirit, or in language more impressive in its dignified simplicity,—went out of his way to describe Lord Palmerston's defence as 'that most able and most temperate speech, which made us proud of the man who delivered it, and in which he vindicated with becoming spirit, and with an ability worthy of his name and place, that course of conduct which he had pursued.' But not less vividly remembered were the words, in which he had just before condemned the mischievous principle on which the diplomatic action of this country had been conducted by the subject of this panegyric:

'When I see,' he said, 'your present position with Austria, with France, and with Russia, and when I see also the many questions that remain unsettled with the States in the North of Europe, and when, on the other hand, I know the positive advantage it is to this country that you should be on the most friendly footing with all those Powers, how can I vote that the course you have been taking is the best calculated to preserve peace? Peace, no doubt, there is. There is no disturbance. Therefore, if the words in the Resolution have any meaning at all, they must mean that your policy is calculated to maintain those amicable relations which ought to exist between the Great Powers of Europe for their separate and individual advantage. If you appeal to diplomacy, let me in the first place ask, What is this diplomacy? It is a costly engine for maintaining peace. It is a remarkable instrument used by civilised nations for the purpose of preventing war. Unless it be used to appease the angry passions of individual men, to check the feelings that rise out of national resentment—it is an instrument not only costly, but mischievous. If, then, your application of diplomacy be to fester every wound, to provoke instead of soothing resentments, to place a Minister in every Court of Europe for the purpose, not of preventing quarrels, nor of

adjusting quarrels, but for the purpose of continuing an angry correspondence, of promoting what is supposed to be an English interest, and of keeping up conflicts with the representatives of other Powers, then I say that not only is the expenditure upon this costly instrument thrown away, but this great engine, used by civilised society for the purpose of maintaining peace, is perverted into a cause of hostility and war.'

The application of these weighty words was obvious, and Sir Robert Peel had so well illustrated in his own career the value of diplomacy as an engine for maintaining peaceful and cordial relations with other countries, that they carried with them a peculiar force. When he had been driven from office in 1846, an harmonious understanding existed between England and all the Courts of Europe. Notoriously all this was changed, and why? Because we had not followed the rule by which his policy had been guided, of doing by others precisely as he would have wished them to do by us, and by never interfering, to use his own language, 'with the domestic affairs of other countries, without some clear and undeniable necessity arising from circumstances affecting the interests of this country.'

Much eloquence had been expended during the debate in advocating the principle that England was bound to support a crusade in favour of self-government in other countries, without regard to their peculiar institutions, or their fitness to apply the principles of self-control and mutual toleration on which the success of self-government depends. The concluding part of Sir Robert Peel's speech was devoted to exposing the fallacy and danger of such a principle. Every word of that admirable peroration told; for the action taken by our Government in Italy, Austria, and Hungary, was present to the minds of his audience, as the emphatic commentary upon the speaker's words,—the last which were to fall from him in that House, which he had so long swayed, less by his

eloquence than by his unselfish devotion to the welfare of the country and her people:—

'It is my firm belief that you will not advance the cause of constitutional government by attempting to dictate to other nations. If you do, your intentions will be mistaken, you will rouse feelings upon which you do not calculate, you will invite opposition to government; and beware that the time does not arrive when, frightened by your own interference, you withdraw your countenance from those whom you have excited, and leave upon their mind the bitter recollection that you have betrayed them. If you succeed, I doubt whether the institutions that take root under your patronage will be lasting. Constitutional liberty will be worked out by those who aspire to freedom only by their own efforts. You will only overload it by your help, by your principle of interference against which I remonstrate, against which I enter my protest, to which I to-night will be no party. You are departing from the established policy of England, you are involving yourselves in difficulties, the extent of which you can hardly conceive, you are bestowing no aid on the cause of constitutional freedom, but are encouraging its advocates to look to you for aid instead of those efforts which can alone establish it, and upon the successful exertion of which alone it can be useful. . . . I am determined to take upon this occasion the course which I have taken upon every other; I will not evade the difficulty by silence or absence; I will state the grounds upon which I protest against the Resolution, the carrying of which I believe will give a false impression with respect to the dignity and honour of this country, and will establish a principle which you cannot carry into execution without imminent danger to the best interests of the kingdom.'

Lord John Russell and Mr. Disraeli followed Sir Robert Peel in the debate, and after a few words from Mr. Roebuck, the division was taken at four in the morning, and a majority of 46 declared in favour of the motion, 310 having voted in its favour, and 264 against it.

While this debate, which extended over five nights, was in progress, public indignation was once more excited by a

cowardly outrage upon the Queen, committed, not, as on former occasions, by a person of mean condition, but by a man of good family, called Robert Pate, who had held a commission in the army for five years. While Her Majesty was leaving Cambridge House, where she had called to make inquiries for the Duke of Cambridge who was seriously ill, this person started forward and struck a blow with a cane at Her Majesty's face. Its force was fortunately broken by the bonnet, but it inflicted a severe bruise on the forehead.[7] It is to this attack that the Prince alludes in the following letter to Baron Stockmar the next day:

'Dear Stockmar,—I have only a minute to spare, and avail myself of it to tell you that Victoria, thank God, is well, although her forehead is much bruised, and her nerves are still somewhat shaken by the shameful occurrence of yesterday. The perpetrator is a dandy, whom you must often have seen in the Park, where he had made himself conspicuous. He maintains the closest silence as to his motives, but is manifestly deranged. All this does not help to make one cheerful.

'In the House the debate on Greece has already lasted four nights. Palmerston spoke for five hours without a moment's pause. His speech is a masterpiece. The state of affairs, however, will not be improved by it; and we may have a resignation of the Ministry to-morrow. Peel, Graham, Gladstone, Disraeli, Molesworth, Cobden, all go against the Ministry, and speak in strong terms. The Ministry has identified itself entirely with Palmerston.

'The Exhibition is now attacked furiously by *The Times*, and the House of Commons is going to drive us out of the

[7] Pate was subsequently tried, on the 11th of July, and sentenced to seven years' transportation, the jury having declined to recognise the plea of insanity, which, as usual, was set up by Pate's counsel. No motive for the attack was ever assigned.

Park. There is immense excitement on the subject. If we are driven out of the Park the work is done for!! Never was anything so foolish.

'Buckingham Palace, 28th June, 1850.'

From this letter it is apparent that down to the last the fate of the Ministry hung in the balance. The division of next morning, however, removed all uncertainty upon this subject. The House of Commons had, by its vote, accepted the defence, 'more able and admirable than convincing,' as it has been called by a not unfriendly critic, 'of the statesman whose political existence depended on the result. His position,' the same writer adds, 'was an appeal to parliamentary magnanimity, and he and his partisans made a triumph of the occasion. But opinions remained much what they were before.'[8] This no doubt was so; but having perilled the existence of the Ministry upon the defence of his policy, Lord John Russell had now no alternative but to put aside the intention which he had for some time entertained, of arranging for the acceptance by Lord Palmerston of some other office, where his great energy and vigorous practical sense, undisturbed by the strong personal feelings which influenced his demeanour towards foreign States, might be used with unalloyed advantage.

[8] Miss Harriet Martineau, in her sketch of Lord Palmerston, *Biographical Sketches*, London, 1869, p. 147.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

It was well for the Prince that the recent Whitsuntide recess had enabled him to recruit his strength and spirits in the open-air life at Osborne, where he found ever welcome recreation in superintending the works in progress, in laying out the grounds, in planning farm cottages, and making experiments with his sewage apparatus. On the 23rd of May he writes from there to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg:—

'In our island home we are wholly given up to the enjoyment of the warm summer weather. The children catch butterflies, Victoria sits under the trees, and I drink the Kissingen water Ragotzky. To-day Mama-Aunt (the Duchess of Kent) and Charles (Prince Leiningen) are to come to stay a fortnight with us: then we go to town to compress the (so-called) pleasures of the season into four weeks. God be merciful to us miserable sinners!'

But the return to town brought, in addition to the usual fatigues of the London season, unusual anxiety in the critical condition of the Ministry; and this was now to be followed by other incidents, which imposed a strain of the severest kind upon the spirits and energy of the Prince.

To add to the manifold difficulties which already attended the preparations for the Great Exhibition, an opposition of the most determined character had grown up both in the press and in Parliament to its being placed in Hyde Park.

For a time this opposition threatened to be triumphant, and the Commissioners saw no alternative, in that event, but to abandon the scheme altogether. While things were in this state, the assault upon the Queen came still further to increase the Prince's anxiety, and a few days afterwards the death of Sir Robert Peel, in which he had to mourn not merely a disaster to the nation, but a loss to himself of a most valued friend.

Enough has already been said in these volumes to show how deep and cordial was the mutual regard which subsisted between two men, who were naturally attracted to each other by a community of tastes and principles in art, in literature, in morals, and in politics. When Sir Robert Peel's Ministry came to an end, the Prince had asked that the cessation of the Minister's official relations with the Court might make no alteration in other respects in the intercourse between them. 'I shall be very happy,' was the reply from Drayton Manor, 'to avail myself of your Royal Highness's kind permission occasionally to write to your Royal Highness. However much I am enjoying the contrast between repose and official life, I may say, I hope without presumption,—I am sure with perfect sincerity,—that the total interruption of every sort of communication with your Royal Highness would be a very severe penalty. It was only yesterday that I was separating from the rest of my correspondence all the letters which I have received from the Queen and your Royal Highness during the long period of five years, in order that I might ensure their exemption from the fate to which in these days all letters (however confidential) seem to be destined, and I could not review them without a mixed feeling of gratitude for the considerate indulgence and kindness of which they contained such decisive proofs, and of regret that such a source of constantly recurring interest and pleasure was dried up. I can act in conformity with your Royal Highness's

gracious wishes, and occasionally write to you without saying a word of which the most jealous or sensitive successor in the confidence of the Queen could complain.'[1]

Subsequent intercourse had drawn closer and closer the bond of friendship, which had been established almost from the beginning of their correspondence. In Sir Robert Peel the Prince found an adviser to whom he could always turn in perfect reliance on a loyal sincerity, which delighted to place at his command all the resources of his wide experience and his matured thought. Having since 1846 renounced his place as a leader in the war of party, Sir Robert Peel was in a position more fully to appreciate the dispassionate yet earnest vigilance with which the Prince, as he knew from his official experience, regarded on principle all political and social questions; while on the other hand the Prince had constant reason to admire the single-minded patriotism of the statesman, whose services to the country were never more conspicuous than since his retirement from office, in giving dignity and breadth of view to the deliberations of Parliament. His support to the Prince upon the Commission for the Great Exhibition had been unflagging; and in the approaching discussion in Parliament as to its site would have been invaluable. To lose such a friend at such a time was, therefore, no ordinary calamity. How the Prince felt it, his letters show. Thus, on the day after Sir Robert Peel's death, he writes to Baron Stockmar:

'Dear Stockmar,—You will mourn with us deeply, for you know the extent of our loss, and valued our friend as we did.

[1] In the same letter, this passage occurs: 'The best speculation which this country could engage in would be a Royal Gallery worthy of a national collection of pictures. If there were some vacant apartments, they would be filled by presents and bequests of pictures worth ten times the cost of erecting them.' Twenty-six years have elapsed since, and we are no nearer the fulfilment of this suggestion; for the increased space of our National Gallery is already more than forestalled.

Peel closed his eyes last night about eleven!! You will have heard that he fell with, or rather from his horse, opposite our garden wall last Saturday, and broke his collar-bone and shoulder-blade. He suffered greatly, and was worn out with pain, fever, and a gouty constitution. Only a few hours before his accident he was seated with us in the Commission, advising as to the difficult position into which we have been thrown in regard to the Exhibition by the refusal to allow us the use of the Park.

'The debate on Palmerston had lasted the previous night till five in the morning, and Peel had made an admirable speech. Now he is cold. . . . We are in deep grief; add to which, I cannot conceal from you that we are on the point of having to abandon the Exhibition altogether. We have announced our intention to do so, if on the day the vast building ought to be begun the site is taken from us. Peel was to have taken charge of the business in the Lower House. It is to come to the vote to-morrow, and the public is inflamed by the newspapers to madness.

'Our friend, in moments like this, is sorely missed. If you can come, pray do so, for we have need of you.

'Buckingham Palace, 3rd July, 1850.'

The next day the Prince writes to the Duchess of Kent, who was then abroad:

'Since you left us blow after blow has fallen upon us. . . . . And now death has snatched from us Peel, the best of men, our truest friend, the strongest bulwark of the throne, the greatest statesman of his time! You know the whole extent of our loss; and such a frightful death!

'The Duke of Cambridge, too, is not likely to recover, for he cannot get up his strength. Further to distress us, the whole public—led on by *The Times*—has all at once made a

set against me and the Exhibition on the ground of interference with Hyde Park. We are to pack out of London with our nuisance to the Isle of Dogs, &c. &c. There is to be a division in the House about it to-day. Peel was to have taken the lead in our defence, but now there is no one with influence enough to procure a hearing for justice and reason. If we are beaten, we shall have to give the whole thing up.

'Buckingham Palace, 4th July, 1850.'

The Queen and Prince were now to share the common experience, that

> When sorrows come, they come not single spies,
> But in battalions.

Tidings reached them that the Queen of the Belgians was alarmingly ill, and, a few days later (8th July), the Duke of Cambridge died. In announcing his death to the Duchess Dowager of Saxe-Coburg, the Prince again recurs to the topic of the far heavier loss which was uppermost in his thoughts :—

'Every day brings us fresh sorrow. Yesterday evening the good Duke of Cambridge died: the family is plunged in grief. The Strelitzes came five hours too late, and found their father already cold. We went with them to-day to see the body. The poor old gentleman slept softly away at the last, after his strength had been quite exhausted by a three-weeks' fever.

'Sir Robert Peel is to be buried to-day. The feeling in the country is absolutely not to be described. We have lost our truest friend and trustiest counsellor, the throne its most valiant defender, the country its most open-minded and greatest statesman.

'Buckingham Palace, 9th July, 1850.'

Writing the same day to King Leopold, Her Majesty says:—'Peel is to be buried to-day. The sorrow and grief at his death are most touching, and the country mourns over him as over a father. Every one seems to have lost a personal friend.' It was indeed so. From the time his life was known to be in danger, the entrance of his house was besieged by crowds, to whom a bulletin of his progress was from time to time read by a policeman. The faces of his friends, as they passed from the door, were eagerly scanned, and sorrow fell upon people's hearts at the grave sadness which alone was to be read there. The deep and silent grief of all classes was most affecting. Biography, like history, repeats itself, and what Tacitus wrote of Agricola might have been applied, word for word, to the modern statesman:—'To his family the closing of his life was a deep affliction; it was a heavy grief to his friends, and cast a gloom even over strangers and those to whom his person was unknown. As he lay sick, the common people, too, and those who generally feel no concern in public events, thronged about his house, and his name was on all men's tongues, in the market-place and in the streets. Nor was there any one who, hearing of his death, either was glad, or went on his way and thought of it no more.'[2]

In the case of Sir Robert Peel, as in so many others, death swept away the mists of passion or prejudice, or mere indifference, which had veiled the true proportions of his character from many eyes. His patience, his courage, the wise and far-seeing counsels with which he had tempered the action and strengthened the hands of the Government which had driven him from office, had subdued even his

[2] '*Finis vitæ ejus nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extrancis etiam ignotisque non sine curâ fuit. Vulgus quoque, et hic aliud agens populus, et ventitavere ad domum, et per fora et circulos loquuti sunt; nec quisquam, auditâ morte Agricolæ, aut lætatus est, aut statim oblitus.*'—Agricola, xliii.

adversaries. The attachment, so hard to sacrifice, of the bulk of the party he had led had been replaced by the daily growing esteem of the nation, and in the shock it felt at a loss for which it was so little prepared, the country became alive to the fact, that he had possessed their confidence in a measure to which no other public man could pretend. Lord John Russell in the Lower, and Lords Lansdowne and Stanley in the Upper House, spoke in generous and glowing terms of the void which the disappearance of 'a great man and a great statesman,' as he was styled by Lord Stanley, had created in the council of the nation; but of the many eloquent things that were said on all sides, no words are more likely to be long remembered than the few by which the Duke of Wellington, in a voice thickened with emotion, paid his tribute to the friend whose public and private worth he had reason to know so well. 'In all the course of my acquaintance with Sir Robert Peel I never knew a man in whose truth and justice I had a more lively confidence, or in whom I saw a more invariable desire to promote the public service. In the whole course of my communications with him I never knew an instance in which he did not show the strongest attachment to truth; and I never saw in the whole course of my life the slightest reason for suspecting that he stated anything which he did not believe to be the fact.' It need not be said, how much this quality of entire truthfulness endeared Sir Robert Peel to the Prince, himself the soul of truth, and impatient almost to a fault of the moral weakness which its absence implies.

As Sir Robert Peel had enjoined by his will that his funeral should be of the simplest kind, and that he should be buried beside his father and mother in the family vault at Drayton Bassett, the nation could only substitute for the public funeral in Westminster Abbey, which it was eager to have assigned him, a monument there at the public expense.

This was voted by Parliament, a few days after his death, on the motion of Lord John Russell, from whom the public, at the same time, learned that the offer of a peerage had been declined by Lady Peel. 'Her own wish,' he said, 'was to bear no other name than that by which Sir Robert Peel was known.' Any other course, she had at the same time intimated, would have been contrary to her husband's wish recorded in his will, that none of his family should accept, if offered, of any title, distinction, or reward, on account of any services he might be supposed to have rendered to his country.

It might seem hard for even malice to misinterpret the motives for such an injunction. But so actively was it misconstrued by those,—a class that never dies—who by a perverse instinct busy themselves with putting a false gloss upon the simplest acts, that Mr. Goulburn, one of Sir Robert Peel's executors, thought it necessary to write to the Prince upon the subject on the 7th of August. After referring to the opinion, which he says has been actively circulated, that Sir Robert Peel's recommendation to his family to decline a peerage, if offered, 'implied a disparagement of the Peerage, and was founded on feelings entertained by him of contempt for or hostility to the House of Peers,' Mr. Goulburn continues: 'I am confident your Royal Highness knew Sir Robert Peel too well to entertain any such misunderstanding of his character.' He then refers to the terms in which the injunction was conveyed, and of which he enclosed a copy, as the best evidence, 'that so far from not deeming the Peerage an object of honourable ambition, Sir Robert Peel's view, in the memorandum which he left, was to stimulate those who might succeed him to the attainment of the honour; thinking it more desirable, both as regarded the public interests and their individual character, that such distinctions should be received as the

reward of their own merit, rather than enjoyed as the result of the public services of another.'

To this letter the Prince replied :—

'My dear Mr. Goulburn,—I return you the enclosed touching paper with my best thanks. I had already seen a copy of it, as well as I can remember; at least Her Majesty and myself were quite aware of poor Sir Robert's feelings,[3] and could never believe, for a moment, that he meant anything else by his injunction, than to carry that disinterestedness, which so much distinguished him, even beyond the grave, and, at the same time, to stimulate his children, not to seek support in his memory, but rather to rely upon their own exertions. This is as honourable to a wise parent as declining all reward was to the statesman and patriot.

'How lamentable a sign of our times it is, that even such motives should not be safe from malicious imputation, and should become a subject for idle gossip. Believe me always, my dear Mr. Goulburn,

'Yours truly,

'ALBERT.

'Osborne, 8th August, 1850.'

The death of Peel was much felt by Baron Stockmar, who had ranked him among his friends since 1819. Of all public men he believed him to be the one whom England could, at this time, least afford to lose; and knowing well what a friend and stay the Queen and Prince had lost in him, he was not slow in expressing his warm sympathy with what he knew them to be suffering.[4] What that was the Queen's

[3] See *ante*, vol. i. p. 264.

[4] The Queen (9th July) writes to King Leopold: 'Albert, who had been so fresh and well, when we came back (from Osborne), looks so pale and fagged again. He has felt and feels Sir Robert's loss dreadfully. He feels he has lost a second father.'

letters had told him. It must have been hard for him, weak and ailing as he was, to resist such an appeal as this from Osborne (23rd July):—

'You do not answer my anxious letters. Pray, do listen to our entreaties to come. It will do you good to be with my beloved Prince. He longs for you. Since the night of your poor friend's death he again wakes so early, and this is a sad distress to me. Clark admits that it is the mind. . . . . Diet has been of no avail. He has likewise been so shamefully plagued about the Exhibition, that for the honour of the country (which would have been grievously injured, if a little knot of selfish people had succeeded in driving him out of the only place where the architects said it could be) he felt their conduct much, and thought so much about it, that this has also helped to make him wake early.'

A letter was on its way from the Baron to assure the Prince that he was resolved to summon up whatever strength he could to enable him to come to England, in answer to his own and the Queen's appeal; and in the same letter he went, as usual, fully into all the bearings of Sir Robert Peel's death upon the state of parties and of public affairs. Of the Prince's reply (22nd July) to this letter, the following passages are important:—

'. . . I duly received your letter about Peel and ——. As to the former I said to Victoria, immediately after his death, what was a deduction from the same line of reasoning as your own. As Peel's only ambition and chief wish was to leave a fair name in the history of the country—"the ambition of an honourable fame," as he himself once expressed it—the time and manner of his death have, in truth, accomplished his desire. For at no time did he stand so unfettered, so eminently a patriot, and so high in public opinion as just now; and his last speech was the epitome of the plan he

aimed at maintaining of a mediator, well disposed to all parties, and thereby controlling them and directing the government of the country.

'The suddenness of his death has magnified, both here and abroad, the gap which his death must occasion; and pity for what he suffered has increased the affection and gratitude that are felt towards him. Yet who knows whether he would have been able to maintain in the long run the position which he aspired to occupy, without drawing upon himself the hatred of parties, or perhaps even giving them occasion for just reproach?

'The debate on Foreign Affairs had shown him all the difficulty of what he had undertaken. He could not call the policy good, and yet he did not wish to damage the Ministry, and this solely because he considered that a Protectionist Ministry succeeding them would be dangerous to the country, and had quite determined not to take office himself. But would the fact that his health no longer admitted of his doing so have been sufficient, as time went on, to make his followers and friends bear with patient resignation their own permanent exclusion from office? I doubt it.'

By this time the Prince's mind was at ease in reference to the site of the Exhibition. It is impossible to say how much the vote of the House of Commons may have been influenced by its being known that the voice of its most distinguished member, now silent, would have been the first to be raised in support of the appropriation of the space in Hyde Park to the purpose; but when the discussion came on (4th July) the Opposition were defeated by a very large majority. In the other House the hostile motions were withdrawn, and a few days afterwards the Prince was able to note in his diary, 'The feeling respecting Hyde Park is quite changed.'

Another difficulty had, however, arisen about the necessary funds. None of the tenders for the building were under

100,000*l.*, and the subscriptions were very far short of this amount.[5] Grave deliberations as to ways and means with Sir Charles Wood, Lord Overstone, Lord Granville, and Mr. Labouchere, had not resulted in any satisfactory solution of the problem; when the idea of creating a guarantee fund, to meet any contingent deficiency, was happily suggested. Mr. (now Sir Samuel) Peto, with his partners, led the way on the 12th of July by pledging themselves to the extent of 50,000*l.*, and this spirited example was quickly followed in so liberal a way, that a sum was in a few days subscribed for, which put an end to all further anxiety on this head. It was little dreamt of at the time, that the success of the Exhibition would make a dead letter of these guarantees; for even the most sanguine of its promoters could not have anticipated that the enterprise would not only pay for itself, but leave, as it did, a balance in the hands of the Commissioners of nearly a quarter of a million. On the 16th of July Mr. Paxton's exquisite and most ingenious design for the structure itself was accepted by the Commissioners, and a contract for its completion by the end of the year was concluded with Messrs. Fox and Henderson. The Prince's mind

[5] The scheme of the Great Exhibition found small favour with the writers of *Punch*, and they joined loudly in the outcry against its being in Hyde Park. The backwardness of the subscriptions was of course a good point for them to handle, and one of Leech's cartoons represented the Prince (vol. xviii. p. 229) as 'The Industrious Boy,' cap in hand, with 'Please to remember the Exposition' inscribed under it, and followed by some verses, of which the first will serve to show the general character:

> Pity the troubles of a poor young Prince
> Whose costly scheme has borne him to your door,
> Who's in a fix—the matter not to mince—
> Oh, help him out, and commerce swell your store.

The Prince, who had the rare quality of enjoying a joke none the less for being the subject of it, has preserved this cartoon among his records of the Exhibition. 'If you want to know what public men are like,' he would say, 'you must study the caricatures of their day.' He made a great collection of them; thinking them of the highest value, as indications of 'the age and body of the time, its form and pressure.'

was thus set free to consider the sufficiently engrossing question, how the building was to be arranged and filled.

The session was drawing to a close,—little but routine business remaining to be discussed,—and the demands of the London 'season' had been satisfied, so that the Queen and Prince were now enabled to seek a few days' rest at Osborne. That it was sorely needed, even the Prince, who was little apt to complain, is compelled, in writing to Baron Stockmar, to admit:

'Dear Stockmar,—Two days ago we entered upon a quieter and more endurable phase of existence—I mean we came here. In town it became at last quite impossible to go on longer, and I am sorry to say I was again suffering from sleeplessness and exhaustion. Nevertheless, in all the matters which I had in hand, I had triumphant success.

'*The Times* has had to back out of the position it took up about the Park, and we have managed to get together a guarantee fund of 200,000*l.*, which enables us to erect our building, for the subscriptions are very backward. . . .

'I was delighted with your article about Peel, which is very striking.[6] I think of making my epigraph on him in a speech which I am to make in October at York, where the Mayors of the three kingdoms intend to give the Lord Mayor of London a banquet, in return for that given by the City, and to which they have invited the Royal Commissioners and myself.

'Osborne, 20th July, 1850.'

It was during this stay at Osborne that the Queen found herself under the necessity of placing upon record, in a

[6] On hearing of his friend's death, Stockmar wrote on the impulse of the moment a masterly analysis of his character, which was published in the *Deutsche Zeitung* of the 16th July. It has been reprinted in his *Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 615 *et seq.*

Memorandum, which has already become historical, her views as to the transaction of business between the Crown and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

There was no part of her duties as a Sovereign which the Queen, in common with the Prince, considered more to demand her constant supervision, than the communications with Foreign Powers through our representatives abroad. These are conducted by the Foreign Secretary; but it is not merely to him, but to the First Minister, that the Sovereign looks for advice on questions of foreign policy, for the treatment of which, as well as for the general policy of his Cabinet, he is primarily responsible. To him, therefore, as well as to the Sovereign, copies of despatches and of all other documents, which pass through the Foreign Office, are communicated. Only after both have been consulted, can any step be taken with propriety, which involves a question of principle; and a line of action once agreed on cannot with propriety be varied, without a fresh reference to both.

Involving as they do vital questions of peace and war, our foreign relations have always been regarded as demanding in an especial degree the attention of the Sovereign. No one, it may be assumed, can more earnestly desire to uphold the dignity, the power, and the prestige of this country than the monarch who presides over its fortunes, and in whom its majesty is personified. To no one can the maintenance of peace, with all that peace implies, be more dear. No Minister, however patriotic, however conscientious, would be likely to watch what passes throughout the Continent of Europe with a more vigilant eye, or a more earnest regard for the permanent welfare of the country, than the Sovereign, who, of all persons in it, is most closely identified with its interests and its honour. Likes or dislikes for this or that reigning family, the ambition of diplomatic triumphs, soreness for diplomatic

defeats, the propagation of pet political theories, can have no place in the mind of the monarch of a constitutional kingdom like ours, who, while her first thought is to keep her empire safe, honoured, respected, is bound to maintain at all times a frank and dignified courtesy towards other Sovereigns and their Governments. For this reason it is, that it has always been a prominent function of the Crown to watch closely and continuously the state of our foreign relations, and to keep itself fully advised of the policy of the Government as bearing upon them in every essential detail.

At no period during Her Majesty's reign more than during the period since Lord Palmerston's return to office, in 1846, had the utmost prudence and forbearance been necessary in the management of our diplomatic relations. At the same time, our true course was a simple one, and it was clearly marked out for us. In the troubles by which other monarchies were shaken, we were in no way called upon to interfere. To stand aloof, ready to throw our influence into the scale, if called upon to advise, or to mediate, but to do nothing which should create irritation or distrust, or foster hopes which we must inevitably disappoint,—such was the ostensible policy of the Government; and it was in entire accordance with the convictions of the Sovereign. It would, however, be idle to conceal that this policy was not always carried out by Lord Palmerston in a way of which either the Sovereign or his own colleagues could approve. His modes of proceeding were often too violent and abrupt, the language of his despatches was often less calculated to conciliate than to mortify and offend, and his general demeanour towards other Governments was very frequently such as to inspire them with undefined alarm.

Able, sagacious, patriotic, and courageous, Lord Palmerston was at the same time wilful and passionate in his action as Foreign Minister. Many of his despatches, read as we

should read a private letter, or an article in a review, command admiration for their strong sense and their unusual vigour of expression; but, if we picture to ourselves when and for what object they were written, it is not difficult to understand the amount of bad feeling which they provoked among the foreign potentates and statesmen, under whose eye they came.[7] The easiest of colleagues, so long as his own department was left untouched, he was impatient of interference, and too apt to forget, that the evil consequences of rash words, or a mistaken line of action, had to be borne by others, whose views he would not defer to, and was careless to consult. Early in 1849, Her Majesty found it necessary to bring prominently under his notice the constitutional rule, that the ultimate control of his office rested with the Premier; and that the despatches submitted for her approval must therefore pass through the hands of Lord John Russell, who, if he should think they required material change, should accompany them with a statement of his reasons. 'It appears to me,' Lord John wrote to the Queen, 'that all our despatches should be thoroughly considered, but that Her Majesty should give every facility to the transaction of business by attending to the Drafts as soon as possible after their arrival.'

In reply, he was informed, that Her Majesty would only require, 'that she should not be pressed for an answer within

[7] This passage was written before the publication, in Mr. Trevelyan's *Life of Lord Macaulay*, of a portion of a letter from Lord Palmerston, in 1842, in which he declines to write for the *Edinburgh Review*, on the very grounds which would condemn many of his own despatches. 'In order to do justice to the British Government,' were Lord Palmerston's words (vol. ii. p. 116), 'it might now and then be necessary to say things about some foreign Governments, which would not come altogether well from anybody who had been, and might be thought likely again at some future time to be, concerned in the management of affairs.' It was remarked by Mr. Fonblanque of Lord Palmerston in the *Examiner*, at the end of 1851, 'The desk was his place of peril, his pen ran away with him. His speech never made an enemy, his writing has left many festering sores. The charm of manner and urbanity which so served him in Parliament and in society, was sometimes wanting on paper, and good counsels were dashed with asperity.'

a few minutes, as is now done sometimes. Lord Palmerston could always manage, that there shall be twelve or twenty-four hours left for reference to you and for consideration, and there are few instances in which business would suffer from so short a delay.' The arrangement was assented to by Lord Palmerston, who was told by Lord John Russell, in the letter informing him of it (21st June, 1849), that he 'concurred in Her Majesty's view, that directions to Foreign Ministers ought to be very maturely weighed; for the Queen and the Government speak to foreign nations in this and in no other manner.'

From time to time Her Majesty had to complain that this arrangement was not frankly carried out. Important steps were taken, important instructions were sent abroad, without previous communication with the Sovereign, and only made known when some serious embarrassment resulting from them could no longer be concealed. Despatches were altered in a different sense, after they had been approved, or not altered at all, when alterations had been directed. Even where his line of policy had been fully explained, Lord Palmerston's mode of carrying it out had more than once exposed us to imputations of a want of good faith, or of impartiality, which it was not always easy to remove. Her Majesty could not observe without pain, that especially since 1847, the result of his management of Foreign Affairs had been, that 'at a moment, and in a conjuncture in which England ought to stand highest in the esteem of the world, and to possess the confidence of all Powers, she was generally detested, mistrusted, and treated with indignity by even the smallest Powers.'[8]

But however much the Queen might regret this state of things, or condemn the policy which caused it, the matter was beyond her control. Her duty in this respect was ful-

[8] Extract from a letter by the Prince to Lord John Russell, 2nd April, 1850.

filled, when she had pointed out, as in most cases she had done, the probable mischiefs of a policy at once irritating and unfruitful. The question, however, of the fulfilment by Lord Palmerston of his ministerial duties towards the Sovereign was a matter which stood upon a different footing, and on which concession was impossible. On the 2nd of April the Prince, on Her Majesty's behalf, communicated her complaints on this head in a letter to Lord John Russell. 'As a Minister,' he wrote, 'the Sovereign has a right to demand from Lord Palmerston that she be made thoroughly acquainted with the whole object and tendency of the policy, to which her consent is required; and, having given that consent, that the policy be not arbitrarily altered from the original line, that important steps be not concealed from her, nor her name used without her sanction. In all these respects Lord Palmerston has failed towards her; and not from oversight, or negligence, but upon principle; and with astonishing pertinacity, against every effort of the Queen. Besides which, Lord Palmerston does not scruple to let it appear in public, as if the Sovereign's negligence in attending to the papers sent to her caused delays and complications.'

Before this time Her Majesty had gravely considered whether it would not be necessary to lay down in express terms, for Lord Palmerston's guidance, the constitutional rule by which the relations between the Foreign Minister and the Sovereign had been uniformly regulated. A Memorandum, practically identical with that to be presently quoted, was accordingly drawn up in March, 1850, but laid aside in the hope that the remonstrances both of Her Majesty and her Prime Minister would have prevailed with the Foreign Secretary, and that the Queen would thus be spared the pain of having recourse to a step which implied so severe a rebuke. But fresh violations of the rule had arisen, and to hesitate

longer in bringing the matter in a formal shape before Lord Palmerston's notice was felt to be impossible. It was under these circumstances that the following Memorandum was addressed by Her Majesty to Lord John Russell, with whom she had had a conference at Osborne a few days before, in which the subject was discussed.

In a letter from Lord Palmerston to Lord Lansdowne, published in Mr. Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston* (vol. i. p. 329), it is called 'The Queen's *angry* memorandum of August, 1850;' and again, 'a paper written in anger by a lady as well as by a sovereign,' and which some of his friends thought implied an affront which he ought no to have borne. This is surely no apt description of a document, drawn up after the most serious deliberation, long kept back from a feeling of kindness, and only forced from the Sovereign by the continued imprudence and insubordination of the Minister. Attention having been once more called, and in such terms, to the subject, no course remains, but to publish the whole Memorandum, of which the introductory portion has hitherto been withheld, as well as the details of what preceded and followed upon it :—

'Osborne, 12th August, 1850.

'With reference to the conversation about Lord Palmerston, which the Queen had with Lord John Russell the other day, and Lord Palmerston's disavowal that he ever intended any disrespect to her by the various neglects of which she has had so long and so often to complain, she thinks it right, in order to prevent any mistake for the future, to explain what it is she expects from the Foreign Secretary.

'She requires :—

'1. That he will distinctly state what he proposes in a given case, in order that the Queen may know as distinctly to what she has given her Royal sanction.

'2. Having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister. Such an act she must consider as failure in sincerity towards the Crown, and justly to be visited by the exercise of her Constitutional right of dismissing that Minister. She expects to be kept informed of what passes between him and the Foreign Ministers, before important decisions are taken, based upon that intercourse; to receive the Foreign despatches in good time, and to have the drafts for her approval sent to her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off. The Queen thinks it best, that Lord John Russell should show this letter to Lord Palmerston.'

On the 14th of August Lord John Russell wrote to the Queen, that he had not failed to communicate this letter to Lord Palmerston, by whom he had been assured, 'that he would punctually obey the directions contained in it.' He at the same time forwarded the following note which he had soon afterwards received from Lord Palmerston :—

'Foreign Office, 13th August 1850.

'My dear Lord John Russell,—I have taken a copy of this Memorandum of the Queen and will not fail to attend to the directions which it contains. With regard to the sending of despatches to the Queen, they have sometimes been delayed longer than should have been the case, in consequence of my having been prevented by great pressure of business, and by the many interruptions of interviews, &c. to which I am liable, from reading and sending them back into the office so soon as I could have wished. But I will give orders, that the old practice shall be reverted to of making copies of all important despatches as soon as they reach the office, so that there may be no delay in sending the despatches to the Queen. This practice was gradually left off, as the

business of the office increased, and if it shall require an additional clerk or two, you must be liberal and allow me that assistance.

'Yours sincerely,

'PALMERSTON.'

The next day Lord Palmerston wrote to the Prince requesting an interview, which was at once granted. It took place the same day, and what passed was recorded by the Prince in the following Memorandum:—

'Osborne, 17th August, 1850.

'After the Council for the Speech from the Throne for the prorogation of Parliament on the 14th, I saw Lord Palmerston, as he had desired it. He was very much agitated, shook, and had tears in his eyes, so as quite to move me, who never under any circumstances had known him otherwise than with a bland smile on his face. He said, that after what had been communicated to him by Lord John Russell he felt it necessary to have an explanation with me. That to differ from his policy, or to condemn it, was only to condemn his judgment, and a matter of opinion, upon which differences were natural and to be expected; but the accusation that he had been wanting in respect to the Queen, whom he had every reason to respect as his Sovereign, and as a woman whose virtues he admired, and to whom he was bound by every tie of duty and gratitude, was an imputation on his honour as a gentleman, and, if he could have made himself guilty of it, he was almost no longer fit to be tolerated in society.

'I purposely did not interrupt him; but when he had concluded, I reminded him of the innumerable complaints and remonstrances which the Queen had had to make these last years. The Queen was quite ready to make every allowance for the pressure of business in the office and his

want of time, and would be sure to receive his denial of any *intentional* want of regard, but that she had felt that things could no longer go on so. The Queen had often,—I was sorry to say, latterly almost invariably,—differed from the line of policy pursued by Lord Palmerston. She had always openly stated her objections; but, when overruled by the Cabinet, or convinced that it would from political reasons be more prudent to waive her objections, she knew her Constitutional position too well not to give her full support to whatever was done on the part of the Government. She knew that they were going to battle together, and that she was going to receive the blows which were aimed at the Government; and she had these last years received several, such as no Sovereign of England had before been obliged to put up with, and which had been most painful to her. But what she had a right to require in return was, that before a line of policy was adopted or brought before her for her sanction, she should be in full possession of all the facts and all the motives operating; she felt, that in this respect, she was not dealt with as she ought to be. She never found a matter "intact," nor a question, in which we were not already compromised, when it was submitted to her. She had no means of knowing what passed in the Cabinet, nor what passed between Lord Palmerston and the Foreign Ministers in their conferences, but what Lord Palmerston chose to tell her, or what she found in the newspapers.

'Lord Palmerston interrupted me, saying that his conferences took some four hours a day, and it would require as much time again to make a report of them; but then he would have no time left for any part of the business of his office at the House of Commons. The documents, in which the results of the conferences appeared, and which came to the Queen, were the drafts of despatches.

'I replied, that the Queen could not mean to ask for

details, which ought to be managed by him; but, *when principles were settled*, she ought to be informed, and this could be done in a few words. She now lost much time in disputing with Lord John and Lord Palmerston about the wording of despatches, which was most unprofitable; but in the absence of any explanation of the facts which determined, or the motives which guided the decisions come to, she was bound at least to watch these despatches. Words might mean very little or very much according to the sense *intended* to be conveyed.

'To this Lord Palmerston answered, that he felt the full force of this objection, but that this was the result of the arrangement represented to him by Lord John Russell some years ago, as desired by the Queen, that all drafts should go through him to the Queen. The Prime Minister could not be as well informed as the Minister whose department was concerned. He had been ready to give explanations or to come to the Palace at any time, but could not have known beforehand whether he would be received, or whether he would not appear intruding. He was ready to come to me at any time, or to give me any explanation I might desire.

'I replied, that there had been found great convenience in the drafts passing through the hands of the Prime Minister to the Sovereign; but that this did not preclude Lord Palmerston's writing to the Queen as often and as much as he thought necessary, and giving the information required. To give him an example of what the Queen wanted, I would ask him a question point-blank. He was aware the Queen had objected to the Protocol about Schleswig, and of the grounds on which she had done so. Her opinion had been overruled, the Protocol stating the desire of the Great Powers to see the integrity of the Danish Monarchy preserved had been signed, and upon this the King of Denmark had invaded Schleswig, where the war was

raging. If Holstein were attacked also, which was likely, the Germans would not be restrained from flying to her assistance. Russia had menaced to interfere with arms, if the Schleswigers were successful. What would Lord Palmerston do, when this emergency arose (provoking most likely an European war), and which would arise very probably when we should be at Balmoral, and Lord John in another part of Scotland? The Queen expected from his foresight, that he had contemplated this possibility, and required a categorical answer as to what he would do in the event supposed.

'Lord Palmerston entered into a long controversy about the Protocol and the complicated state of the Danish question, called the contingency a very unlikely one, &c. &c. After a full hour's conversation on this subject, we were, however, interrupted, *without my being able to get a positive answer.*

'I spoke to Lord John Russell the following day of our interview, and told him how low and agitated I had found Lord Palmerston, almost to make me pity him. Lord John answered, that he thought what had passed had done a great deal of good.'

CHAPTER XL.

In proroguing Parliament, which was done by Her Majesty in person (15th August), the Queen was able to refer with satisfaction to several measures, as the result of their labours. Among these, not the least important was one for the abolition of Interments within the limits of the Metropolis, and another for extending the jurisdiction of the County Courts. The first of these was a Government measure, and an important step in the system of sanitary improvement, to which public attention was now seriously directed. The second, introduced by a private Member, had been forced upon the Government by immense majorities, in which they were compelled to recognise the prevailing current of opinion in favour of cheaper and simpler means of obtaining legal redress.

War was at this time raging between Denmark and the Schleswig-Holstein Duchies, and the Royal Speech could express no more than a hope, that the treaty which had been concluded between Germany and Denmark under the mediation of England might 'lead, at no distant period, to the restoration of peace in the north of Europe.' The hope was, however, a very shadowy one. Germany had set her heart upon the incorporation of these Duchies. To her they were of the last importance, as securing an outlet to the sea, and enabling her to realise her cherished dream of one day becoming a great naval Power. The German people viewed, therefore, with extreme bitterness the combined action of England and the other great maritime Powers of Europe,

which seemed to have for its object to defeat this very natural and deep-seated ambition. The Protocol of 4th of July referred to in the previous chapter, embodying the views of England, Austria, Denmark, France, Russia, Sweden and Norway, could not fail to provoke the suspicion, that the dispute between Denmark and the Duchies was to be settled not so much with reference to the just claims of the Duchies, or to the rights of the respective parties to the dispute, as to the interests and the jealousies of the parties to the Protocol. The very terms of the Protocol seemed to argue a foregone conclusion on their part, that their efforts would be directed to the severance of the Duchies from Germany.

Prussia, it was true, had concluded a peace with Denmark on the 2nd of July, but this left the whole question unsettled. The hands of her Government might be tied; but this did not prevent her German subjects from volunteering into the ranks, or her generals from taking the lead, of the Holstein insurgents. A terrible defeat which they had sustained at Idstedt on the 25th of July had not crushed their hopes. Rallying what remained of their forces, they moved forward again early in September, to attack the strongly fortified town of Frederickstadt in Schleswig, and it was only after a protracted, but abortive bombardment, that they were compelled to abandon the attack, and to retreat into Holstein.

Meanwhile Denmark, sorely pressed, was doing her best to engage the other Great Powers to put pressure upon Austria and Prussia, or themselves to take active measures, to put down the movement of the national party in the Duchies. Any step in this direction, however, could scarcely be taken without the risk of provoking a war, so long as Prussia refused her sanction to the terms of the London Protocol, and more than once during the autumn of this year the apprehensions of such a contingency, expressed by the Prince in his interview with Lord Palmerston, seemed on the point of

being realised. It was, indeed, only averted by the Convention come to between Prussia and Austria at Olmütz on the 29th of November, one of the stipulations of which was that Holstein should be disarmed, and peace restored, if necessary, by their united forces.

This Olmütz Convention restored peace for the time in the Duchies, as it for the time averted war between Prussia and Austria, which had been for some time imminent; but it left the questions undetermined, on the settlement of which alone a permanent peace could be established. Whether the Duchies should be incorporated with Denmark or with Germany was an issue which manifestly must sooner or later be forced to a decision. So too, Prussia might, as she did by the arrangement at Olmütz, renounce her adherence to the movement for the unity and constitutional representation of Germany, agree to the re-establishment of the old Diet, and fall back upon the state of things as they existed before the Revolution of 1848. But manifestly such an arrangement contained the seeds of destruction within itself. It was a settlement in the interest, not of the nation, but of the different reigning powers. It left open the burning question, whether Austria was, as heretofore, to dominate the counsels and control the free growth of Germany; and accomplished as it was under the direct pressure of Russia, it deepened the determination of the national party not to relax their efforts until Germany should become a power capable of deciding and acting by and for itself, and not to be disposed of at the will and for the convenience of alien Powers, or merely dynastic interests.

On the 21st of August the Queen and Prince left Osborne on a short yachting excursion, in the course of which they ran into Ostend to meet the King of the Belgians, with whom they spent the day. The pleasure of this meeting, which the Queen, in writing to her uncle (24th August),

describes as 'a delightful happy dream,' for which she was very thankful, was marred by the absence of the Queen Louise, whose illness had now assumed a very serious aspect. On his return to Osborne the Prince writes to Baron Stockmar :—

'Dear Stockmar,—We returned yesterday from Ostend, into which, as the papers will have told you, we ran with the yacht for a night.

'We found Uncle Leopold well and cheerful, and much delighted at our visit. Our Aunt was unable to bear the fatigue of a journey to Ostend. We sent Clark to her at Laeken. He has a bad opinion of her state, and urgently recommended change of air from Laeken to the Ardennes. The children still have the hooping-cough, so they did not come. On the other hand, we had our four eldest children with us, and they were greatly interested by the foreign town and population.

'To-morrow I am thirty-one. The day after we go to Lord Carlisle at Castle Howard; on the 29th to Edinburgh, where we shall put up at our new halting place in Holyrood, and I am to lay the foundation stone of the National Gallery; and on the 31st to Balmoral.

'I received while in town your letter about Gervinus; at the prorogation of Parliament I saw Gervinus and had a long conversation with him. I agree entirely with all you say about the Protocol policy, but it is impossible to make any impression here upon that subject. The fixed idea here is, that Germany's only object in separating Holstein with Schleswig from Denmark is to incorporate them with herself, and then to draw them from the English into the Prussian commercial system. Denmark will then become a State too small to maintain a separate independence, and so the division of European territory and the balance of power will be disturbed.

'I grant that this is a tenable view, and that Germany (especially Prussia) has given cause for it; but assuredly this affords no ground for doing violence to law, to honour, to equity, and to morality, in order to defeat an eventuality which has not been brought about by ambition or caprice, but by the nature of things. Schleswig is entitled to insist on union with Holstein; Holstein belongs to Germany, and the Augustenburgs are the heirs. How is it possible to get over these things?

'Germany appears to me to be going utterly to the deuce under the miserable policy of its rulers, and to be becoming a still readier toy for the next revolution. Are there no longer in it men of heart and head, who might avert the disaster? It is altogether too sad. . . .

'Osborne, 25th August, 1850.'

Next day brought the tidings of the death of King Louis Philippe. The event was not unexpected, as his health had for some time been visibly declining. It was the Prince's birthday, and the event somewhat saddened what was always made a day of special pleasure by the tributes of affection which it drew from the many loving hearts by whom the Prince was surrounded. Writing to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg from Castle Howard (28th August), where the Royal party rested for a day on their way to Scotland, he says:—

'Alas, I too spent the 26th in ruminating with a sad pleasure on my native country, the paternal home, my early youth. We celebrated the day quietly and peacefully at Osborne with the children. It was, however, unhappily a day of mourning. Just before dinner came the news of the death that morning of poor old King Louis Philippe. By starting at six in the morning we managed yesterday to pay a flying visit to the afflicted family. They are all greatly

stricken down. Still, the Queen is wonderfully composed and resigned.

'We go to Edinburgh to-morrow, where we are to stop at old Holyrood for the first time, and I have a ceremony of laying a foundation stone to perform. The four eldest children are with us. We shall reach Balmoral on the 31st. Charles [Prince Leiningen] started yesterday to join Mama at Abergeldie.'

Next day the Queen and Prince proceeded by railway to Edinburgh. The great railway bridges over the Tyne at Newcastle, and the Tweed at Berwick, had just been completed. At both they got out, and performed the ceremonial of formally opening these magnificent structures, amid vast crowds of spectators. Edinburgh was reached by five o'clock. The Duke of Buccleuch, at the head of the Royal Archers, who claim the privilege of forming the Royal body-guard in the Scottish metropolis, accompanied the Queen's carriage on foot, on its way to Holyrood Palace from the station. 'The road,' says Her Majesty's diary, 'the new one under Arthur's Seat, was beautifully kept by cavalry and infantry, and thousands were assembled. The Salisbury Crags were like an anthill, black with people. The sun shone brightly. The sight was a very fine one, and the good Scotch people most enthusiastic. In the court of Holyrood was a guard of honour of the 93rd Highlanders, and Lord Morton, as Captain General of the Royal Archers Guard, received us.'

Not since Queen Mary quitted that scene of sad remembrances had the halls of the old Palace been trodden by queenly footsteps. What wonder if the hearts of the assembled thousands beat quicker, and their cheers rang with a deeper tone at the spectacle of their Queen taking up her abode in the only palace now left in their land, and one which is to them a cherished memorial of their national story! The Queen herself was too much excited by the associations of the spot, to

care for rest after the fatigues of the day. Scarcely pausing to look at the rooms provided for their reception, the Royal guests hurried to see the more striking objects of the Palace. 'We wandered out,' says the Queen's diary, 'with the two girls, and Miss Hildyard [their governess], to look at the old ruined Abbey, which adjoins the Palace, and which you see from our windows. It is beautiful inside. One of the aisles is still roofed in, but the other is not. It was originally an Abbey, and the very old tombstones are those of friars. It was afterwards the Chapel Royal, and Queen Mary, my unfortunate ancestress, was married to Lord Darnley at this very altar, of which you see the remains. It was restored in the time of James VII. of Scotland and II. of England. Later, it was used as a parish church. There are many tombs in it—some of the Sutherland and Erroll family, Lord Strathmore, &c., and I discovered the grave of Flora MacDonald's mother.' [1]

The great beauty of the east window, and the other striking features of the ruin, did not escape notice. But there were in the Palace itself rooms which had an even stronger fascination for its present occupants. 'When we returned,' the diary continues, 'we saw the rooms where Queen Mary lived, her bed, the dressing-room into which the murderers entered who killed Rizzio, and the spot where he fell, where, as the old housekeeper said to me, "if the lady would stand on that side," I would see that the boards were discoloured by the blood. Every step is full of historical recollections, and our living here is quite an epoch in the annals of this old pile, which has seen so many deeds, more bad, I fear, than good. In the long gallery is a collection of most frightful pictures of the Kings of Scotland, beginning with a full-length of a king 330 years before Christ. In Queen Mary's

[1] The Flora MacDonald here mentioned is not the devoted adherent of Charles Edward Stuart, but one of the Queen's then Maids of Honour (now Bedchamber woman), who bears the same name, and is the daughter of the Clanranald, a scion of the same family as the celebrated Flora.

room we saw a piece of her work, the armour and lance of Lord Darnley, and other more doubtful *souvenirs*. The old housekeeper did not know who I was, and only learned it from Mr. Charles Murray [deputy-keeper of the Palace] afterwards.'[2]

Next morning at ten the Queen and Prince, with the four Royal children, drove along the magnificent drive, then recently completed, round Arthur's Seat. 'When we had driven some little way,' the Queen writes, 'we got out, and walked quite to the top, a good height, and, after a year's disuse of climbing in England, hard work; but it is nothing to the Highland hills, for it is quite smooth under foot. The view at the top amply repays the trouble. You see the beautiful town, with the Calton Hill, and the bay, with the

[2] The Abbey of Holyrood, on the site of which the Palace now stands, dates back to the twelfth century. Some portions which remain of the chapel were probably of that age. Only a small portion of the Palace has any claim to antiquity. This is the North Tower, in which the apartments are situated, which are shown as having been occupied by Queen Mary, when Rizzio was murdered. These apartments correspond exactly with the description of them given by one of the active agents in the murder, Lord Ruthven, in his very vivid 'Relation' of its incidents. He describes the conspirators as passing through the Queen's chamber 'to the Cabinet, where he found the Queen's Majesty sitting at her supper at the middle of a little table, the Lady Argyle at one end, and Davie at the head of the table with his cap on his head; the King speaking with the Queen's Majesty, and his hand about her waist. The said Lord Ruthven, at his coming in, said to the Queen's Majesty:—"Would it please your Majesty to let yonder man Davie come forth of your presence, for he hath been over long there."' Rizzio was dragged from the Cabinet to the 'utter chamber,' at 'the Queen's far door' of which he was slain, and left lying gashed and gory, and with Darnley's dagger sticking in the wound he had inflicted. A great portion of the Palace was burnt on 13th November, 1650, while in the hands of Cromwell's soldiers. The Protector gave orders for its restoration, and this was completed in 1658. But the greater part of the Palace, as it now stands, was built under the direction of Charles II. James II. restored the chapel, and tried to re-establish the Roman Catholic form of worship in it, but the Edinburgh mob settled that question by making havoc of the interior in December, 1688. About the middle of the last century, the roof, which had become ruinous, was restored, but the old walls and shafts would not bear the weight of the new roof, and it fell in, crushing the columns, and reducing the structure to a state of ruin, which no effort was for many years made to arrest.

Island of Inchkeith, stretching out before you, and the Bass Rock quite in the distance, rising behind the coast. Unfortunately, it was a little hazy. Coming down, we had a small crowd, who came down with us. The view, when we gained the carriage, near Dunsapie Loch—quite a small lake, overhung by a crag, with the sea in the distance—is extremely pretty. . . . The air was delicious.'

At a little before one, the same record proceeds, the Prince went off to lay the first stone of the National Gallery, which is now one of the ornaments of the City, and contains within its walls a collection of pictures, both ancient and modern, of the highest excellence. 'The Prince,' the Queen writes, 'felt rather nervous about the speech he had to make on the occasion.' But critical as Edinburgh people are reputed to be, they would have been captious indeed had they not been more than satisfied. What was said by the Prince gratified their nationality in its most sensitive points, and showed how well he appreciated the best features of the Scottish character—its love of improvement, its strong practical sense, and its self-dependence. A large portion of the funds for the construction of the gallery was the produce of an old grant for the encouragement of the fisheries and manufactures of Scotland, which her prosperity had long since rendered superfluous. The allusion to this fact by the Prince was most happy:

'It must be an additional source of gratification to me to find, that part of the funds rendered available for the support of this undertaking should be the ancient grant which, at the union of the two kingdoms, was secured towards the encouragement of the fisheries and manufactures of Scotland, as it affords a most pleasing proof that those important branches of industry have arrived at that stage of manhood and prosperity when, no longer requiring the aid of a fostering Government, they can maintain themselves independently, relying upon their own vigour and activity, and can now in their turn lend assistance and support to their younger and weaker sisters, the Fine Arts.

'Gentlemen, the history of this grant exhibits to us the picture of a most healthy national progress: the ruder arts connected with the necessaries of life *first* gaining strength; then education and science supervening and directing further exertions; and lastly, the arts which only adorn life becoming longed for by a prosperous and educated people.'

The Prince's apprehensions about his speech were soon dispelled. 'Albert,' the Queen's diary records, 'returned at two. Everything had gone off beautifully; the speech most successful, and thousands of people there; 70,000 tickets had been sold.' The rest of the day was spent in driving through some of the finest parts of the city and in inspecting its monuments and public buildings. Among the former the Scott monument, finished since the Royal visit eight years before, and among the latter Donaldson's Hospital, then just completed, was much admired. The return to the Palace was by way of the High Street and Canongate, 'that curious old part of the town, where the population is very poor,' and where, it appears, in the exuberance of their loyalty, 'they were a good deal excited.' Before entering the Palace, the drive was continued along the then newly completed road under Arthur's seat, 'which forms "the Park,"—a beautiful park indeed, with such a view, and such mountain scenery in the midst of it.'

An agreeable circle in the evening concluded a delightful day. 'The Buccleuchs, the Roxburghs, the Mortons, Lord Rosebery, Principal Lee, the Belhavens[3] and the Lord Justice General dined with us. Everybody so pleased at our living at my old Palace. The Duke of Buccleuch, who

[3] The remembrance of this pleasant evening may have been in the late Lord Belhaven's mind, when he made a bequest to Her Majesty of a cabinet which had been brought by Queen Mary from France, and given by her to the Regent, Lord Mar, from whom it passed into the family of Lord Belhaven. This cabinet, which contains a lock of Queen Mary's hair, and a purse worked by her, is now in Windsor Castle. The lock of hair is large—a full tress of beautiful golden hair—very fine in texture, and full of life, like that of a girl of sixteen.

sat near me, was in high spirits. Principal Lee, who is a very agreeable old man, talked to me of Holyrood and its antiquity; of the death of Darnley, and of the suspicion of Mary being privy to it,—he hopes not. 'Where he lives, and where the University stands, is the very spot where this happened.'

By half-past eight next morning, the Royal party left Holyrood for Balmoral. It was reached the same afternoon. The Prince saw to his satisfaction, that the work of building new cottages for the tenants on the estate, which he had set on foot in the previous year, had made good progress; and he found employment after his own heart, in directing the improvements, and establishing the sound system of agriculture, required to bring into good order a property which had for many years been greatly neglected. In carrying out these changes, the Prince kept carefully in view the character of the peasantry with whom he had to deal, not forcing a new system too suddenly upon them, but leading them to appreciate its value by example and actual use. No good man was displaced; no honest effort at improvement went unnoticed. The 'duties of property,' indeed, were never more thoroughly recognised than by both the Queen and the Prince. To care for those, who either as tenants or labourers lived upon their estates, and so to attach them more and more to the land and its owners, was their first thought. In speaking of the Prince's treatment of Her Majesty's Balmoral estate, Dr. Robertson, by whom his views were carried out, says in a Memoir published by Mr. Morton in his volume, *The Prince Consort's Farms*, London, 1863:

'No views of self-interest entered into his calculations. He loved the people, he admired their character, and he respected their prejudices as the antique vestiges of other days. His Royal Highness believed that, if they were ignorant, it was because the means of education were deficient; if they were indo-

lent, it was because they had little field for encouragement to exert themselves; if sometimes slovenly in their habits, it was because from poverty they were compelled to live in comfortless mud houses. To increase the comforts of his tenants, to elevate their moral and social condition, were objects steadily kept in view from the time the Prince became a proprietor of Highland property; and they were pursued with unabated zeal to the end of his life.

'Anxious as his Royal Highness was to remedy the state of matters we have indicated, he was well aware the cure must be the work of time. School-houses were erected and teachers appointed for the education of the young; and to give a taste for reading and increase still more the means of information, an excellent library, the joint gift of Her Majesty the Queen and the Prince, was established at Balmoral, and thrown open not only to tenants and servants, but to all in the neighbourhood.[4]

'It was not to agricultural improvements alone that his Royal Highness's attention was directed; he saw the advantage of encouraging tradesmen and labourers of good character to settle upon his estates. Houses and gardens, with a croft, where it could be conveniently added, for the keep of a cow, were provided at a very moderate rent for the blacksmith, the carpenter, shoemaker, tailor, and general merchant. Similar encouragement was given to the steady labourer, and the extensive works thus undertaken were carried on over a series of years, so as to give constant employment.'

The stay at Balmoral was enlivened by excursions to the summit of *Ben-na-Bhourd*, to the wild solitudes of distant Loch Muich, and to the Braemar Gathering, of which Her Majesty has preserved records in *The Leaves from a Journal*

[4] The work, begun in the Prince's life, is continued by Her Majesty. The greater portion of the proceeds of the sale of *The Leaves from a Journal* was devoted to the establishment of Bursaries—three or more of 5*l.* each—to scholars, female as well as male, at the parish school of Crathie, or at Her Majesty's school at Girnock, and three of 25*l.* each to students at the University of Aberdeen. The Bursars for both school and university are selected in the first instance from the families or relatives of those who are, or have been, servants, retainers, tenants, or cottars upon the estates of Balmoral, Abergeldie, or Birkhall, and, failing these, from the families of persons residing in the united parishes of Crathie and Braemar.

(pp. 120–130). But we see by the following letter from the Prince to Baron Stockmar, that over these otherwise delightful hours of recreation, a shadow was cast by the critical condition of the Queen of the Belgians:

'Dear Stockmar,—Yesterday I received your welcome lines of the 21st. You are wrong if you think that it can give us no pleasure to nurse in our house an old ailing man. It will give us a very great deal of pleasure, and I am convinced that nursing throughout the winter in England is quite essential for you. You have already passed several winters with us quite comfortably, whereas, had you been in Coburg, you would undoubtedly have lapsed into a wretched state. Then give us hope for October, which is a good travelling month for you, and by the beginning of which we shall be back in England.

'What causes me much grief is the state of good admirable Aunt Louise, who, I fear, will never be well again. She certainly has tubercles in the intestines, and wastes away with the malady of which her sister Marie died. What a frightful blow will this be for our poor Uncle!

'The poor old King (Louis Philippe) has been buried quite unostentatiously; yet after his death the papers have assailed him with remorseless severity.

'We try to strengthen our hearts amid the stillness and solemnity of the mountains. My body, or at least my nerves, which constitute the relation between the two, were also in want of strengthening, and they get it through the glorious pure keen air. I am a great deal upon the hills, and do next to nothing.

'Still, wherever I am, Germany is constantly before my eyes, and, alas! they show me that immorality is everywhere in the ascendant and therefore that nothing can come right.

'Balmoral, 11th September, 1850.'

A painful incident which occurred at this time in London occasioned considerable uneasiness, calculated as it was to increase the bitterness of feeling on the part of Austria towards England, which had for some time existed. Nor was this diminished by the way in which it was dealt with by Lord Palmerston. Indeed, if the Memorandum by the Queen cited in the last chapter needed any justification, it would be found in what occurred on this occasion.

In the beginning of September, General Haynau came to England on a visit. An evil reputation preceded him. His severe measures of repression at Brescia and other places in Italy, and subsequently in Hungary—still more, charges of having flogged women among the Hungarian insurgents, and encouraged reprisals happily little known in modern warfare, had made his name a byword as a monster of cruelty among all who sympathised with the national movements in Italy and Austria. True or not, these charges were believed, and a man who bore a character so repugnant to English notions was not likely to be viewed with friendly eyes. On the 5th of September, he had gone to see Barclay's Brewery, accompanied by two friends. His appearance was remarkable. Unusually tall and slender, with grey moustaches of extraordinary length fringing a sallow meagre face, in which deep-set grey eyes looked impassively out from beneath bushy grey eyebrows, he was easily recognisable from his portraits. It was said at the time, that a person employed at the establishment had reasons for seeking to be avenged on him for some outrage on a kinsman who had fallen under his power. But, however this might be, General Haynau had scarcely entered within the precincts of the Brewery, when his presence became known to nearly every person employed on the establishment. The men instantly turned out, armed with whatever offensive missile came most readily to hand, and assailed him with every sort of abusive epithet. Cries arose of 'Down with

the Austrian butcher!' and things looked so serious, that the General was warned to retire from the premises. He prepared to do so, but this symptom of concession only made matters worse. A truss of straw was dropped on his head from a floor above him, and he was pelted with a shower of missiles. His hat was knocked over his eyes; he was hustled from side to side, his coat was torn, and one man seizing his long moustache, tried to cut it off. At length the General and his friends fought their way out of the Brewery, but only to fall into the hands of the populace outside, who had by this time been roused by the men of the Brewery. No sooner did he appear, than he was surrounded, pelted, struck, and even dragged along the road by his moustache. At last, he found refuge in the upper room of a public-house, and was got away by the police.

Inquiry was immediately set on foot, at the instigation of the Home Office, to trace the leaders of this ruffianly attack; but without success. General Haynau refused to prosecute, or to identify any of the men who had assaulted him. Consequently none of them could be brought to justice. In answer to an appeal from Baron Koller, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, Lord Palmerston expressed in person the regret of the Government at what had taken place. But a more formal expression of this feeling was due to the Austrian Government, and Lord Palmerston submitted to Lord John Russell and to the Queen the draft of a Note, which he had prepared with this view. It contained a paragraph which Lord John Russell, in writing to the Queen, stated that he regarded 'as derogatory to the honour of the nation, as if no one could be safe in this country, who was obnoxious to the public feeling.' In this Her Majesty concurred, and their views were communicated to Lord Palmerston. But the Note, with the objectionable paragraph, it turned out, had actually been sent to Baron Koller before the draft had been submitted to

Her Majesty for approval. On finding this to be the case, Lord John Russell advised Her Majesty to insist on its being recalled, and on a fresh Note, without the paragraph, being substituted in its place. He also wrote to Lord Palmerston to the same effect, adding, that this appeared to him to be the only course which the Queen could approve, or to which he could be a party.

The position was a most painful one. It was not merely that the principle had been again violated, on which it had so recently been necessary to insist in the most formal manner, that draft despatches sent for the Sovereign's approval should not be transmitted without that approval; but, what was more serious, the Note itself was regarded by the head of the Ministry and by the Sovereign as 'derogatory to the honour of England, as well as discourteous to Austria,'[5] containing as it did, on the one hand, an imputation on the character of the English people for fairness and self-control, and, on the other, a charge that General Haynau, a distinguished and trusted servant of the Emperor of Austria, had shown a want of propriety in coming to England. The matter could not, therefore, be allowed to rest. Lord Palmerston at first resisted, going so far as to write to Lord John Russell that, if the Note was to be withdrawn, and an altered Note substituted in its room, this must be done by another Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Lord John's reply (16th October) showed, that not even the prospect of this contingency would move him from his determination, and next day Lord Palmerston wrote, that he had withdrawn the Note, and substituted a fresh one, without the obnoxious paragraph.

The pain of such an incident as this, it will at once be seen, was not all on the side of the Foreign Secretary. To inflict a humiliation is to every generous nature as deep a

[5] Lord John Russell's words in a letter to Lord Palmerston (11th October).

pang as to receive it; and every circumstance combined in the present case to cause acute pain to both the Sovereign and her first Minister in the discharge of what they felt to be a paramount duty. The difficulty with Lord Palmerston had not arisen when the Prince wrote the following letter to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg:

'We in London have in the Haynau demonstration also had a slight foretaste of what an unregulated mass of illiterate people is capable, *le peuple souverain*, which likes to be accuser, witness, judge, and executioner, all in one. *Qui est le peuple souverain?* asked the great Lamartine, and then made answer, *Le peuple souverain est ce peuple, dont il est dit, que la voix du peuple est la voix de Dieu!*

'Our people in the Highlands are altogether primitive, true-hearted, and without guile. The day before yesterday was the Highland gathering of Braemar, to which many clansmen came. Yesterday the Forbeses of Strathdon passed through here. When they came to the Dee, our people (of Strath Dee) offered to carry them across the river, and did so, whereupon they drank to the health of Victoria and the inmates of Balmoral in whisky (*Schnapps*), but as there was no cup to be had, their chief, Captain Forbes, pulled off his shoe, and he and his fifty men drank out of it.

'The deer are wild, and give me so wide a berth that I have only brought down four, and this after infinite trouble.

'Balmoral, 15th September, 1850.'

Before leaving Balmoral, the Prince wrote the following interesting letter to Baron Stockmar:

'Dear Stockmar,—In a few days, on the 10th of October, we leave the Highlands and return to Osborne. I must therefore write to you yet once more, were it only to tell you that we are well, and that it is abominable of you if you are not so also. On the 1st of November we go to Windsor

"for good," there to remain till the meeting of Parliament in February, and we will continue to cherish the hope that you will arrive there at the same time as ourselves. You owe it to yourself, to your family, and to us, not to wait for the bad time of year in Coburg, and you know how much we long for you. It only costs you a resolution, and that, I am sure, you will have force enough to make.

'Sad indeed is the drama that is enacting in Brussels. I cannot so much as picture to myself what a loss our Aunt will be, and yet I can scarcely even hope that she will recover. You, too, will be deeply grieved to see our poor Uncle towards the end of his career again smitten by the same misfortune which seemed to blight its opening.

'The Queen of the French and the Nemours go to Ostend to-morrow. The Queen, amid her many sufferings, and in her deep grief, has shown magnanimity, piety, resignation, and firmness, which are exquisite, and truly worthy of admiration.

'It is remarkable that since we were last here in Balmoral we have lost Anson, Queen Adelaide, Peel, the Duke of Cambridge, and Louis Philippe, all persons with whom we were on terms of the closest intimacy.

'Aberdeen was here two days ago, and is well and cheerful. Mama's health has to all appearance been greatly benefited by her stay at Abergeldie, and she has taken the Castle for next year. I have never seen her so bright and happy. The children are well.

'Of German politics I dislike to speak as much as yourself. The vileness or measureless incapacity of those who hold the reins of government is too provoking. . . .

'Balmoral, 7th October, 1850.'

Scarcely had the Court returned from Scotland to Osborne, when the news was received of the death of the Queen of the

Belgians on the 11th of October. Such were the noble qualities of this lady, and the intimate affection felt for her by our own Queen and the Prince, that this event filled them with the deepest grief. How great to them was the loss, is best shown by the Prince's own words in writing to Baron Stockmar:

'The misfortune which I feared, and of which I expressed my apprehension when writing to you from Balmoral, has happened, and our poor Uncle now stands, for the second time in his life, alone and desolate in the world. The accounts of the last moments of our excellent Aunt are extremely touching, and prove how her noble, self-denying, self-sacrificing nature, which felt only for others, remained the same to her last breath. It would be useless to speak to you of the magnitude of the loss, for you are better able to estimate it in its consequences than I am.

'The resignation of the poor old Queen [Amélie] is admirable; and most inspiriting are the attachment and regard to which Belgium gives expression.

'Victoria is greatly distressed. Her Aunt was her only confidant and friend. Sex, age, culture, feeling, rank—in all these they were so much on a par, that a relation of unconstrained friendship naturally grew up between them; and it was a friendship of which Victoria might with justice be proud.

'I hope this misfortune will not have unnerved you; but that it will rouse you to help, to uphold, and to cherish what is still left and is of value. Our Uncle will want you near him; we want your presence, your counsel, your friendship in a thousand things, which are of moment not only for us, but for the whole family, for England, and through her for the whole world.

'Osborne, 17th October, 1850.'

There was another besides the Prince, who could well appreciate how much our Queen had lost in losing such a friend. This was her sister, the Princess Hohenlohe, whose words of sympathy are very touching. Writing to the Queen from Meran, on the 31st of October, she says:—'The copy of the letter from the Queen Amélie which you had the kindness to send me is very touching and beautiful; but how sad! Resignation is the only feeling we come to at last, when the dreadful certainty of bereavement presses upon one's heart and mind so constantly. Dearest Victoria, "*Du dauerst mich so sehr*" (my heart aches so for you), the loss of such a friend in your position is so very hard to overcome, to submit to; the love and confidence in that angelic character had grown up with you, and was a real blessing to you. This separation from her for life is the first great affliction you have known; may it be the last for many years to come!'

Again, a few days later, when the letters of the Queen showed that the sharpness of her sorrow was still unabated, she says:—'That you must feel the dreadful loss more and more is natural; by and by time will soothe the keenest pain, but there will ever remain a feeling of longing and of sadness, and you will ever miss that angelic friend; she was so perfect, that it is quite impossible for any one to be to you what she was. I can so completely understand your feelings without being able to say one word of comfort—indeed there is none but resignation, and that does not take away the pain in the heart; time alone can do that.'

Baron Stockmar had hurried at once to the side of his old master and friend, to support him by his sympathy and counsels, as he had done thirty-two years before, under a similar bereavement. He was fully alive to the worth of her, whom he had long revered, to use his own words in the splendid panegyric which we have already had occasion to

cite (vol i. p. 115, *ante*), as 'a pattern of her sex,' one of the rare few who 'inspire conviction of the possible, although only too exceptional, nobleness of the human heart.' In the following letter to the Prince, he bears further testimony to her virtues:

'Since I wrote to your Royal Highness on the 22nd of October, I have seen the King for several hours every day. In body I found him no worse than I might have expected, after the sufferings he has had to undergo for the last two months. Morally, he seems to take and to bear his loss as becomes a man of our time of life, who has been much tried. In her will the Queen had left a letter for the King, to be given to him after her death. I have read it. The language is in truth the expression of a soul angelic in its purity. I begged the King to make a copy of it for our Queen.

'I purpose going next Wednesday from here to Calais, and crossing with Smithett on Thursday, so as to reach London the same day. I shall go to [Sir James] Clark's.

'Brussels, Saturday, 26th October, 1850.'

Before this letter reached him, the Prince fulfilled his purpose of 'making his epigraph' upon Sir Robert Peel, at the return banquet, given at York, on the 25th of October, to the Lord Mayor of London, by the Lord Mayor of York and the Mayors of the chief cities and towns of the United Kingdom. At this meeting the Prince was able to congratulate his hosts on the great progress made in the preparations for the Great Exhibition, to which their zeal and co-operation had largely contributed, and that the works in preparation would be 'such as to dispel any apprehension for the position which British industry would maintain.' He could at the same time assure them, that the invitation to other nations to contribute had been generally met 'in that spirit of liberality and friendship in which it was tendered, and that they

were making great exertions and incurring great expenses' in order to meet the plans of the Commissioners. Then, passing on by a graceful transition to remind the meeting of the Statesman, whose words at the London Banquet of the 21st of March were still fresh in their ears, he spoke an eulogium, which had been carefully meditated in the quietude of Balmoral:—

'There is but one alloy to my feelings of satisfaction and pleasure in seeing you here assembled again, and that is, the painful remembrance that one is missing from amongst us who felt so warm an interest in our scheme and took so active a part in promoting its success, the last act of whose public life was attending at the Royal Commission; my admiration for whose talents and character, and gratitude for whose devotion to the Queen, and private friendship towards myself, I feel a consolation in having this public opportunity to express.

'Only at our last meeting we were still admiring his eloquence and the earnestness with which he appealed to you to uphold, by your exertions and personal sacrifices, what was to him the highest object—the honour of his country; he met you the following day, together with other Commissioners, to confer with you upon the details of our undertaking; and you must have been struck, as everybody has been who has had the benefit of his advice upon practical points, with the attention, care, and sagacity with which he treated the minutest details, proving that to a great mind nothing is little, from the knowledge that in the moral and intellectual, as in the physical world, the smallest point is only a link in that great chain, and holds its appointed place in that great whole, which is governed by the Divine Wisdom.[6]

'Gentlemen, if he has had so great an influence over this country, it was from the nation recognising in his qualities the true type of the English character, which is essentially practical. Warmly attached to his institutions, and revering the bequests left to him by the industry, wisdom, and piety of his forefathers, the Englishman attaches little value to any theoretical scheme.

[6] The masterly character of Sir Robert Peel, which the Prince then proceeded to draw, has been already quoted (vol. i. p. 163, *ante*).

It will attract his attention only after having been for some time placed before him; it must have been thoroughly investigated and discussed before he will entertain it. Should it be an empty theory, it will fall to the ground during this time of probation; should it survive this trial, it will be on account of the practical qualities contained in it; but its adoption in the end will entirely depend upon its harmonising with the national feeling, the historic development of the country, and the peculiar nature of its institutions.

'It is owing to these national qualities that England, whilst constantly progressing, has still preserved the integrity of her Constitution from the earliest times, and has been protected from wild schemes whose chief charm lies in their novelty, whilst around us we have seen unfortunately whole nations distracted, and the very fabric of society endangered, from the levity with which the result of the experience of generations, the growth of ages, has been thrown away to give place to temporarily favourite ideas.

'Taking this view of the character of our country, I was pleased when I saw the plan of the Exhibition of 1851 undergo its ordeal of doubt, discussion, and even opposition; and I hope that I may now gather from the energy and earnestness with which its execution is pursued, that the nation is convinced that it accords with its interests and the position which England has taken in the world.'

This speech established for the Prince a further claim upon the confidence and regard of the nation, who by this time, as was well said by the *Spectator* at the time, had 'learned to feel, that if he were removed from us, we should miss one of the least obtrusive, but most useful of our public men. He has never made a speech in public,' the writer added, 'on any occasion of mark, without suggesting matter for useful thought, and the tone of his speeches always combines the conservative with the progressive.' The article then alludes to a rumour current at the time, that the Prince's speeches were not his own. Just as 'Garth did not write his own *Dispensary*,' so the Prince's speeches were said to

be too good for a Prince. 'But,' continues the *Spectator*, 'there is an individuality about them, which stamps their real authorship. Either they are composed by Prince Albert himself, or there is some individual, totally unknown, who is singularly gifted with the power of making precisely the compositions that the Prince can deliver with the greatest ease on very diversified occasions; and the Prince must be endowed with a facility of delivering other men's ideas in a spontaneous fashion, far more improbable than good composition in a Prince.'

To the King of the Belgians Her Majesty was able to speak of the effect generally produced by what had been said at York in terms of less reserve:

'Osborne, 1st November, 1850.

'Albert's expedition was most successful. His speech, paying an affectionate tribute of gratitude to poor Peel, made a great impression. He is not only deservedly beloved and looked up to; but, independent of his position, his talents, his judgment, his peculiar good sense, and honest and courageous straightforwardness, entitle him to the greatest respect. His opinion is anxiously looked for, his censure properly felt. It must be pleasure to you to see the favourite child of your brother so distinguished, and so useful.'

In a letter to Colonel Phipps, the Prince's own report of the visit to York was given with characteristic brevity: 'Everything at York went off remarkably well—people much pleased, journey quick, my stomach deranged from hurry, nervousness, and M. Soyer.'

CHAPTER XLI.

'The judgment and peculiar good sense' of the Prince were put to the proof during the ferment into which the public mind in England was thrown at this time by the action of the Pope. On the 24th of September his Holiness published a Brief 'under the seal of the Fisherman,' by which, in lieu of the Vicars Apostolic, who had exercised spiritual jurisdiction over the Roman Catholics in England since the Reformation, he 'decreed the re-establishment in the kingdom of England of a hierarchy of Bishops deriving their titles from their own sees.' This Brief was couched in language which could not fail to provoke the slumbering Protestant feeling of the country. Based on the assumption 'that every day the obstacles were falling off which stood in the way of the extension of the Catholic religion,' it seemed to imply that the spiritual supremacy which England had long repudiated might now be reasserted with impunity. Accordingly, it proceeded to map out the kingdom into dioceses, which it placed under the episcopal control of an Archbishop and twelve suffragans, and this in language virtually denying the paramount authority of the Sovereign, and also the validity of the Orders of the clergy of the Established Church.

It was in vain that immediately on its publication Dr. Ullathorne and others, who saw the spirit of hostility which the high-pitched language of the Brief must provoke, maintained that it was an act solely between the Pope and

his own spiritual subjects. The mass of the people were in no mood to put this construction on the document. They read in it only the old despotic spirit, which set itself above all principalities and powers, and haughtily claimed an allegiance inconsistent not merely with freedom of conscience, but with national loyalty. There were, moreover, various causes at work for the moment to predispose them to regard with quickened suspicion any signs of encroachment on the part of the Roman hierarchy. Jealousy had been aroused by the stealthy inroads, which the Tractarians had been for some years making upon the creed and ritual of the Established Church, and men's minds were predisposed to trace the present action of the Pope to an over-estimate of the influence of this party within that Church. The recent conduct of the Irish Roman Catholic clergy at the Synod of Thurles had also roused general indignation, by showing to what extent they were prepared, under the sanction of the Pope, to carry their independence of State control. The measures devised by the legislature for the improvement of education in Ireland had been denounced by the Synod as irreligious, and every member of their Church who took advantage of the means of education offered by the State was told that he did so under peril of the Papal anathema. The Synod had also taken up the question of land tenure in Ireland in a manner which proved their determination to extend their authority to questions purely civil, and in these also to defeat, if possible, the action of the Government.

The jealousy thus awakened was still further augmented by the Pastoral, 'given out of the Flaminian Gate of Rome,' on the 7th of October, by Cardinal Wiseman, under his new title of Archbishop of Westminster and Administrator Apostolic of the diocese of Southwark. This document, framed in the most inflated language of ecclesiastical bombast, flung defiance in the face of the Protestant population of England,

by speaking of the men whom they regarded as the great enemies of their freedom, both political and religious, as 'those blessed martyrs of those later ages, who mourned, more than over their own fetters or their own pain, over the desolate ways of their own Sion, and the departure of England's religious glory.'

At another time and in another mood Englishmen might have smiled to be told, that 'Catholic England had been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament from which its light had long vanished, and began now anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigour,' and that this transformation was to be ascribed to the mere manifesto of a man frail in all things as themselves—a man, too, who but recently was a fugitive from the seat of his temporal power, and who was only restored and retained there by foreign bayonets! It needed but little reflection to see, that these visions of spiritual regeneration and supremacy were merely the dreams of ecclesiastics out of sympathy with their age, and unable to read its signs, and that no more had in fact been done, however arrogant and pretentious the language used, than to create a hierarchical body whose powers extended only to the adherents to their own creed. But passionate indignation at the tone and language of the Papal Brief and of Cardinal Wiseman's Pastoral blinded the eyes of the great body of the people to all such considerations, and their indignation found vent in public demonstrations from every quarter against what was denounced as the aggressive attitude adopted by the head of the Roman Catholic Church. Foremost to raise the war-cry was Lord John Russell, in a letter on the 4th of October to the Bishop of Durham. In this he spoke of 'the late aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism as insolent and insidious,' and of the documents in which it was conveyed as embodying

'a pretension of supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our Bishops and Clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation as asserted even in the Roman Catholic times.' He added, it is true, that his alarm was not equal to his indignation, but the general public were not likely to draw any such nice distinctions.

In the same letter, too, Lord John Russell coupled his denunciation of the attack which had been made on the Church from without with condemnation of those traitors within its fold, who had 'been the most forward in leading their flocks step by step to the very verge of the precipice.' Here he touched a chord which had been long vibrating. When the Premier appealed to the nation in such language, it was not strange, that not only its wholesome Protestant spirit should be set in motion, but with it the elements, ever ready to start into action, of religious animosity. The Clergy, thoroughly aroused to the danger in which the Church had been placed by its coquetting with Roman Catholic dogmas, took an active part in the agitation. Meetings were held throughout the kingdom. In many of these intolerance broke out in its most offensive forms, but in all there was a spirit which showed that England was never less than now disposed to take her law from Rome.

Those who had counselled the Papal Brief found, to their surprise, that they had roused a feeling on which they had not reckoned. The measure which was to reinvigorate their hold on Britain had produced precisely the opposite effect. The country was put upon the alert, and the progress of proselytism stayed. Men of all classes and of all denominations poured in addresses to the Crown, condemning in the strongest terms the invasion of the Royal supremacy, and urging determined resistance to the Papal pretensions. The

Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Corporation of London, sent their representatives by hundreds with similar addresses to Windsor Castle, where they were presented in St. George's Hall, on the 10th of December. To each of these replies were returned by Her Majesty in person. The Oxford address presented by the Duke of Wellington, as Chancellor, was noted at the time as having been read by him 'in his peculiar energetic manner, with great vigour and animation.' The Cambridge address, the same chronicler states, was read by the Prince 'with great clearness and well-marked emphasis,' and responded to by Her Majesty 'with great deliberation, and with decided accents.'

The addresses on this occasion, as well as the replies, were conceived in a spirit of moderation and firmness, which contrasted well with much of the vehemence and rancour which prevailed at the time. Next day, the Queen received from her aunt, the Duchess of Gloucester, a letter congratulating Her Majesty on the way the proceedings of the previous day had gone off, and expressing her admiration of Her Majesty's answers. From the reply to this letter it will be seen with what a calm and temperate judgment the Queen, and with her the Prince, had looked upon the incidents which had thrown England into a frenzy of excitement.

'I would never,' Her Majesty writes, 'have consented to say anything which breathed a spirit of intolerance. Sincerely Protestant as I always have been and always shall be, and indignant as I am at those who call themselves Protestants, while they are in fact quite the contrary, I much regret the unchristian and intolerant spirit exhibited by many people at the public meetings. I cannot bear to hear the violent abuse of the Catholic religion, which is so painful and so cruel towards the many good and innocent Roman Catholics. However, we must hope and trust this excitement will soon

cease, and that the wholesome effect of it upon our own Church will be lasting.'

On the same day at which these important addresses were presented at Windsor Castle, the Prince writes to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg :—

'We are all well. The children grow apace, and become stronger and handsomer, we elders older and plainer, and daily wiser, which is due to the many agreeable experiences which we are daily making. We have not seen Windsor the last four days, the fog being so dense, that a man standing before his own door fails to recognise it. Nevertheless, by the help of a blaze of gas, we managed yesterday to inspect the Smithfield Cattle Show, and I am proud at having won a silver medal there for my fat pigs. For a cow, I have only had honourable mention, and my sheep have received no notice at all.

'Windsor Castle, 10th December, 1850.'

While the Ministry were still considering what measures should be taken to counteract the action of the Court of Rome, the Prince was giving his best thought to the more important question of how such a reform within the Established Church might be effected as might bring it more thoroughly into harmony with the state of public opinion. Following his usual practice of reducing his ideas into shape by writing, he wrote the following Memorandum, which will probably be more justly appreciated now than it would have been amid the stormy discussions of the time when it was written. It affords another illustration, among many, how completely he had identified himself in thought and habits with England and its people :—

Memorandum on the Church Crisis.

'Windsor Castle, 8th January, 1851.

'If we analyse the causes why great movements of reform in matters of Church or State, though undertaken under immense popular pressure, have so often proved abortive, we find as one of the principal the attempt to settle minute details at times of great popular excitement—times which are peculiarly unfitted for works requiring patience, method, foresight, and impartiality.

'Moreover, every great movement is carried out by means of heterogeneous elements. The parties joining in it are actuated by different views and interests; but there is of course one object common to them all, which determines their alliance.

'It necessarily follows, that if a complete plan of reform is to be at once carried through in all its details, the heterogeneous elements and differences of views and interests will make themselves felt, and be brought into action upon some, if not most, of these details—will produce violent dissensions, and the loss of that combined strength by which alone the *common* object could have been attained.

'This fact is eminently illustrated in the cases of the many constituent assemblies, which at various times have sprung from revolutions, and have attempted to frame finished constitutions. The result has ever been a waste of strength, time, and power, and total failure in the object sought.

'Our ancestors, the Barons of England, perhaps instinctively perceiving the force of this natural law, perhaps from the rudeness of the age (which knew no doctrinaires), have set us a wise example in this respect. When they met King John on Runnymede, they contented themselves with a few terse sentences and principles, which form the Great Charter, and which contain the whole essence of all English liberty, and

of that highly developed and complicated Constitution which has since become the object of admiration to the world.

'These considerations apply, perhaps, even more to Church reforms, where on the settlement of the minute details by different parties, in accordance with their individual opinions, salvation is often made to depend. It was a premature decision on the details of Church government and doctrine, in the absence of a broad and leading principle, and the fact of their being finally settled for posterity by those into whose hands the conduct of the Reformation fell, which prevented the Church of England from participating in that constant and free development which the State has been able to derive from the broad principles of Magna Charta.

'Let us apply these considerations to the present crisis. We have intense excitement and animosity of parties, and the most heterogeneous elements, views, and interests, joining in the outcry against the Pope, and particularly against the Puseyites. There will be no want of proposals in the next session of Parliament for special measures of detail; assembling of the Convocation; alteration of the Rubric; change of the Thirty-nine Articles; removal of the Bishops from the House of Lords; increase of the Bishops; alteration of tithes; separation of Church and State, &c. &c. And it is very likely that the fire of indignation against the Romanisers will spend itself, and the end be general discontent and a weakening of the Church.

'If this is not to be the inevitable consequence of the present movement, those who mean to lead it ought to be content with the assertion of some intelligible and sound principle, and should endeavour to find some proper formula for expressing it.

'The *principle* will easily be found if the *common cause* of discontent, which has occasioned the *excitement*, has been ascertained.

'If strictly analysed, this cause appears to be *the introduction of Romish doctrines and practices by the Clergy of England, contrary to the will and feelings of the Protestant congregations, under the assumption that the Clergy alone had any authority in Church matters.*

'If this be the fundamental evil, against this ought the remedial Principle to be directed—and this principle might be thus expressed:

'That the Laity have an equal share of authority in the Church with the Clergy.

'That no alteration in the form of divine service shall therefore be made by the Clergy without the formal consent of the Laity.

'Nor any interpretation given of Articles of Faith without their concurrence.

'This principle once recognised as law, a whole living Church Constitution will spring from it, including Church government and doctrines.

'Upon the particular nature of this constitution and its details, the most opposite opinions may be entertained; but it may well be left to time and public discussion to carry out its development by degrees; and the same respect for historical tradition and vested rights, which has marked the progress of the British Constitution, added to a high sense of the sacred nature of the work to be performed, will not fail to attend this development.'

As the time for opening Parliament approached, the excitement caused by the Papal aggression continued to increase, and it formed a prominent topic in the Queen's Speech. Parliament was opened by Her Majesty in person on the 4th of February, and she was greeted both going and returning with cheers, in which cries of 'No Popery' were largely mingled. The address was carried in both Houses

without a division, but it was very obvious from the debate, that the difficulties of a Ministry already feeble were likely to be increased by the division of opinion upon the great topic of the hour. The legislative action, to which the Government were pledged, was sure to alienate their Irish supporters, and the speeches of Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Beresford Hope showed that a section of both Radicals and followers of Sir Robert Peel, whose votes had generally been available to the Ministry, would be found fighting side by side against any measures of a repressive character.

In other directions there seemed little reason to apprehend danger. The Continent was quiet, settling down day by day into the forced calm of a reaction, due less to conviction than to overbearing military force. Our home trade and manufactures were continuing to grow in prosperity. Pauperism had gone on diminishing. A surplus of nearly two millions gave promise of relief to the taxpayer. One interest alone, the agricultural, continued under depression, and cried aloud for relief. It was impossible to withhold sympathy from men who were notoriously suffering from changes which, while they pressed heavily upon them, had at the same time given a most salutary impulse to the general welfare of the country. But their advocates failed to suggest any measures which might give a practical direction to this sympathy. The prevailing difficulties of the owners and occupiers of land had indeed been mentioned in the Queen's Speech, and Mr. Disraeli lost no time in testing the feeling of Parliament by moving a resolution on the 11th of February, that it was the duty of Ministers to introduce without delay such measures as might be most effectual for the relief of the agricultural interest. In the debate which ensued, the Government found their most effective support in the party now known as the Peelites. Sir James Graham, in a powerful speech, dealt with the motion

as having for its object to unseat the Administration and to return to the policy of Protection. It was significant of the failing strength of the Ministry that on such an issue, in a House of 545 Members, they could only command a majority of 14.

A few days later (14th February), after a discussion protracted through several nights, 395 votes as against 63 supported the introduction of a Bill to prevent the assumption of territorial titles by Roman Catholic Bishops. Tried by this practical test, it was impossible to doubt, that the great body of the public was of one mind in condemning the action of the Court of Rome. Still the minority, though numerically small, included powerful names, and the firmness of their resistance showed that the measure would be contested inch by inch at every stage. It was equally clear that some portions of it must be sacrificed, though with the certainty of offending a very large section in the House who considered that, as introduced, it did not go far enough, while even as so cut down it would not conciliate a single opponent.

The position of the Ministry was damaged a few nights afterwards (17th February) by the financial statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. With a large balance in hand, and a rising revenue, he proposed only a partial repeal of the Window Tax, for the abolition of which public opinion had long called loudly; the Income Tax was to be continued, and some trifling reductions of duties made, about which no one cared. So marked was the dissatisfaction expressed on all sides, that it was obvious, if the Budget were persevered with, a disastrous defeat must ensue.

The dissatisfaction thus excited probably helped towards the defeat sustained by the Government a few nights afterwards on a motion by Mr. Locke King for leave to bring in a Bill to assimilate the County Franchise to that of the Boroughs. So supine had the supporters of the

Ministry become, that they only mustered on the occasion to the number of 52, while 100 voted for the motion, notwithstanding the assurance given by Lord John Russell that he would himself submit, at the beginning of next session, a measure for the extension of the suffrage.

This defeat, had it stood alone, might have been retrieved, but, coupled as it was with other indications of loss of confidence, it was conclusive—the last drop in a cup which was already flowing over. There was no alternative before the Ministry but either to die a lingering and ignominious death if they remained in office, or to take the more dignified course of withdrawing from it at once. The decision of the Cabinet could not be doubtful. On the 22nd Lord John Russell formally tendered in person to Her Majesty the resignation of his friends and himself. The same day Lord Stanley was sent for by the Queen. The appeal, he stated, had come upon him by surprise, and a lengthened conference ended in his recommending that an attempt should be made to strengthen the present Government, or partially to reconstruct it, by a combination with the followers of the late Sir Robert Peel. Should this fail, he would then, although deeply impressed with the difficulty of forming a stable Government in the existing state of parties, at all hazards accept the responsibility of doing so if again called upon by Her Majesty.

The resignation of the Ministry took the public by surprise, and for many days it was kept in suspense by the insurmountable difficulties which arose in the formation of a fresh Cabinet. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, to which the Whigs were pledged, made coalition between themselves and the Peelites impossible. On this point, Lord Aberdeen and Sir James Graham would make no concession, and there were other grounds of difference which, though less serious, might have been hard to reconcile. The task of forming an

administration was also declined by Lord Aberdeen, from the conviction that no Ministry could stand which refused, as he must do, to deal with the question of Papal aggression. On the 25th, therefore, Her Majesty again sent for Lord Stanley, the contingency having arisen under which he had promised to undertake the formation of a Government.

He heard the details of the unsuccessful negotiations which had taken place with much concern; and his misgivings as to his own prospects of securing the co-operation of the statesmen, to whom alone he could look with confidence to form a strong administration, were so great, that the interview ended in his declaring that he would only 'attempt to undertake to form a Government.' These misgivings proved well founded; and on the 27th he resigned the trust which he had thus guardedly accepted. 'We were struck,' the Prince writes in a Memorandum the same day, 'by the change of his countenance; it had lost all the expression of care and anxiety which had marked it at the previous interviews. He assured the Queen that he had been labouring incessantly since he had seen her last, but, he was sorry to say, without any success.' Mr. Gladstone, Lord Canning, Lord Ellenborough, and others, had declined to unite with him, and his friends had concurred in his own conclusion that it was not possible for them to organise such an Administration as ought to be offered to the Queen.

The situation had now become extremely critical. In a letter to Lord John Russell, announcing Lord Stanley's decision, it was resumed by the Queen in these terms:—'All possible combinations have failed in their turn. 1st. You declared your inability to carry on the Government on account of the hostility displayed towards it in Parliament. 2ndly. Lord Stanley declined forming a Government of his party until every other possibility should have been exhausted. 3rdly. You have failed to reconstruct the Govern-

ment by a combination with Sir Robert Peel's friends. 4thly. Lord Aberdeen did not think it possible for him to form a Government with his friends alone. 5thly. Lord Stanley has failed in the attempt to construct a Government by a junction with some of Sir R. Peel's friends, or of his party alone.' The next evening was to be devoted to explanations in both Houses of the proceedings of the last five days; and Her Majesty went on to express a hope that, in the explanations then to be given, 'the position of parties will be clearly defined, as well as their opinions on the difficult questions which have led to the crisis, and which are still unsolved. She would, therefore, wish to pause before she again entrusted the commission of forming an administration to anybody till she has been able to see the result of to-morrow evening's debate.'

No such dilemma had arisen since 1812. After the assassination of Mr. Perceval, and the defeat of the Cabinet to which he belonged, Lord Wellesley, Lord Moira, Lord Grey, and Lord Grenville, had been successively charged by the Prince Regent to form an administration with equally bad success, and he had then been compelled to fall back upon his former Ministers. In her embarrassment the Queen resolved on appealing to the Duke of Wellington for his advice, and the Prince, on the 28th, wrote to Lord John Russell to inform him of this intention. This letter was crossed by one from Lord John Russell to the Prince, suggesting that Her Majesty might with advantage see Lord Lansdowne,—a suggestion which was at once adopted. 'The Queen's having sent for the Duke of Wellington,' was the Prince's answer, 'can in no way interfere with her hearing Lord Lansdowne also, whose experience, wisdom, and moderation make his advice most valuable.' The suggestion that the Queen should see the Great Duke had, it turned out, been independently made to Lord John Russell by an in-

fluential member of his Cabinet. In replying to the Prince Lord John mentioned the fact, adding, 'I am very glad to hear that the Queen has sent for the Duke of Wellington, and not sorry that he is at Strathfieldsaye. It will be an excellent reason for the Queen's not sending for any one to-day. I own that, without some such reason, I was afraid that the prerogative of the Crown might pass to the House of Commons.'

The explanations to Parliament on the 28th were frank and full. They were honourable to all concerned, because they proved that the failure of the combinations which had been attempted was due solely to conscientious differences of opinion. It was equally clear from them, however, that no one was prepared to propose a way out of the difficulty, and that the Papal Rescript, by the conflict which it had created between the great mass of public opinion and the statesmen, whose accession could alone have given strength to Lord John Russell's government, was the real cause of the present difficulty. On the one side, England was resolved that there should be legislation on the subject. On the other, Sir J. Graham and Lord Aberdeen, and their friends, considered that the Bill which had been introduced would make Ireland ungovernable, and that it was moreover in itself a violation of the principles of toleration, and a retrograde step from the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. They were not even to be conciliated by Lord John Russell's announcement of his intention to strike out of it everything which could by possibility encroach on the free action of the Roman Catholic Church within its own limits, and to confine the Bill to a prohibition of the assumption of territorial titles. On the other hand, the full statement by Lord Derby of the policy, which he would have proposed had he come into office, and in which, among other things, he avowed that he still regarded the Free Trade policy of 1846 'as an experiment,'

made it equally clear that, either with the existing House of Commons, or after an appeal to the country, he must have found himself in a hopeless minority.

In the anxious deliberations to which the anomalous state of parties had given rise, the Queen had fresh reason to rest with confidence upon the sagacity and tempered judgment of the Prince. Of this the copious Memoranda, in which he has recorded what passed during the hourly shifting phases of the various negotiations, incidentally furnish abundant proofs. Unwarped by the bias of party, he was able to estimate accurately the strength and weakness of each, and to keep his eyes steadily upon what the country demanded, while others were perplexed by the personal and political likes and dislikes which make coalitions always difficult, and generally dangerous and unsound.

After reading the debate on the 28th, the Prince, on behalf of the Queen, drew up, early in the morning of the 1st of March, the following Memorandum, to be laid before the Duke of Wellington on his return from Strathfieldsaye. No better illustration could be given of what the Sovereign and the country gained by the abilities of such a 'permanent Minister:'

'Buckingham Palace, 1st March, 1851.

'At this important moment, when a decision is to be taken on the question, Whom to entrust with the formation of a Government, or where to look for the materials which are to compose it, it becomes necessary to pass in review—

'1. The causes which brought about the present crisis.

'2. The causes which led to the failure of all attempts hitherto made to form a new Government.

'3. The leading questions which have to be solved, and the positions which public men have taken with respect to them; and

'4. The position in which parties in Parliament stand with reference to these questions, and to the particular public men, after the declarations of yesterday evening.

'It is clear that the object which the Queen will have to keep chiefly in view in her ultimate decision must be—to obtain a Government strong enough to last and to grapple in a manly and successful manner with the difficulties of the situation, and solve them to the satisfaction of the country at large.

'1. Lord John Russell's Government broke down from a withdrawal of the confidence of the House of Commons, produced by the defection of the Roman Catholic Members on account of Lord John's Papal Bill, by reason of personal hostility on the part of the Radicals to his Government, and of the general dissatisfaction produced in the country by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budget.

'2. The different attempts to form a new Government failed, from Lord Stanley's inability to form a Government out of his party alone without some accession from the ranks of the Peelites, who could not give that assistance on account of their adherence to Free Trade, whilst Lord Stanley and his party are pledged to Protection. They further failed on account of the objections of the Peelites to the Papal Bill, which rendered their union with Lord John Russell, who is personally pledged to that measure, impossible, equally with their carrying on the Government by themselves against the wishes of the English public, which demands Parliamentary interference with the Pope's aggression.

3. The important questions agitating the public mind are—

(*a.*) Protection or Free Trade.

(*b.*) Parliamentary Reform.

(*c.*) Papal Aggression.

On the first question Peelites, Whigs, and Radicals are

united against the Protectionists; on (*b*) the same; on (*c*) Peelites and Radicals are opposed to Whigs and Protectionists.

'4. It appears from yesterday's debate, that the hatred between Protectionists and Peelites is increased by the late failure of Lord Stanley to detach a portion of the latter, while the feeling between Peelites and Whigs has become more cordial. On the other hand, the hatred of the Radicals, Irish, and Roman Catholics seems increased against the Whigs, and their attachment transferred to the Peelites.

'It would appear from this that the Peelites, with the support of the Whigs and adhesion of the Radicals, Irish and Roman Catholics, would be able to carry on an efficient Government; but Sir James Graham and Lord Aberdeen distinctly declared, that the country expected a measure to be carried against the Papal aggression, to which the Peelites neither will nor can be a party; while the House of Commons is actually pledged to some measure by deciding for the introduction of Lord John Russell's Bill by 395 to 63 votes. Lord John will accordingly have to pass some such measure, but this very measure will detach permanently from him a great portion of his ordinary supporters.

'From this it would appear, that Lord John and the Whigs must bring in, *on the part of the Government*, an anti-Papal measure, but that they require a junction with the Peelites for the carrying on of an efficient Government, preventing a revolution in Ireland, and keeping the confidence of the Radicals, which is necessary for a peaceful carrying out of Parliamentary and Financial Reform.

'This object can only be obtained by a junction of the two parties *now*, leaving the Papal measure *an open question*, allowing Lord John to bring it forward, and Sir James Graham to oppose it, while it may be further modified to meet the views of Lord Stanley and the Protectionists. This

Bill passed, there will be nothing left to interfere with an identity of opinion in the new Coalition. The Irish Members will feel confidence in the intentions of the Government; the country will feel a security in the experience and conservative tendency of the men who are to prepare the measure of reform in the franchise; the Radicals will feel confidence in Sir James Graham's economical bias, and the Queen will have an efficient and strong Government.[1]

'So matters stand in theory. In practice innumerable personal difficulties will have to be overcome; as, for instance, who is to form that Government? The Queen has the fullest confidence, however, in the patriotism of the men who have to combine, and hopes from it, that they will make every personal sacrifice on account of the difficulty of the situation, and the danger the country would be exposed to by further vacillation in the conduct of her Government.

'The Queen requests the Duke of Wellington's opinion upon the problem here proposed.'

Nothing could indicate more clearly the absolute deadlock into which the political machine had been brought, than the fact, that the idea could have been for a moment entertained of leaving the mode of dealing with the Papal aggression as an 'open question,' in a Coalition Ministry. The spectacle of the members of Government, speaking and voting against each other on this the most prominent and vehemently agitated question of the day, would have been humiliating to the actors in it, and revolting to public feeling. Who, moreover, might say that discord on this topic would not extend to other

[1] Among the Prince's papers of this period is an autograph 'Scheme for a Coalition Government of Whigs and Peelites, sketched by the Prince for his own amusement.' His scheme was realised in most of its details on the formation of Lord Aberdeen's Administration in December, 1852. But one name appears in it, which has never been found in any Ministerial arrangements—Mr. Roebuck as Vice-President of the Board of Control.

questions? All this, as might have been expected, was strongly felt by both Lord Lansdowne and by the Duke of Wellington. On the day of Lord John Russell's resignation (23rd February), the Duke, who happened to be a guest at Windsor Castle, had expressed his regret to the Queen that it had become necessary, as in the present posture of affairs a Liberal Government seemed to him to be the only possible or safe one. In this conclusion he was confirmed by the failure of Lord Stanley to attach to him 'the confidence and support of any of the colleagues in office and supporters of the views of the late Sir Robert Peel.' On a review of the whole facts, his conclusion, as expressed to the Queen in the Memorandum just quoted, was, 'that the party still filling the offices, till Her Majesty's pleasure shall be declared, is the one best calculated to carry on the Government at the present moment.'

Accordingly, on the 3rd of March, Her Majesty again invited Lord John Russell and his colleagues to resume office. The invitation was accepted, and the same evening both Houses were informed of the fact. They were not unprepared for it, but received, with indifference, the announcement of what was plainly regarded by them as a *pis aller* which must for the moment be endured. A meeting of 162 Members friendly to the Government was held at Downing Street next day, at which assurances of loyal support were given. The Liberal party had learned too sharp a lesson from the consequences of leaving their leader in the lurch, on Mr. Locke King's motion, to be likely to fall again into the same error.[2] It was equally the interest of Lord Stanley's followers not again to provoke a crisis. Affairs might thus be expected to go on smoothly for a time, and the Government resumed its functions, thoroughly conscious of its own weakness, and with little hope of adding to its strength.

[2] When Mr. Locke King, later in the session, tried to advance his Bill to the second reading, the majority against it (2nd of April) was 216, in a House of 382 Members.

On the 7th of March the subject of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was resumed, when Sir George Grey formally announced that the more stringent clauses were to be withdrawn, and that it would be confined to a simple declaration of the illegality of these Titles. In this form it pleased nobody. It disappointed the expectations raised by the Durham Letter, and was viewed as a pitiful outcome of all the indignation and distrust with which press and platform had rung for months against the ambitious arrogance of the Papal hierarchy. It did not remove the objections of the statesmen who deprecated all legislative action on the subject; and it added another topic of grievance and agitation to those of which Ireland already cherished too many. Still the popular sentiment, that something must be done, to show that the country was as strongly Protestant at heart as ever, bore down every opposition. The debate upon the second reading went on for seven nights. Among those who spoke most vigorously against the Bill were Sir J. Graham, Gladstone, Roundell Palmer, Cobden, Bright, Roebuck, Milner Gibson, Hume; but on the division their supporters numbered only 95, while no fewer than 438 voted for the second reading. Notwithstanding this majority, the opposition to the measure in its subsequent stages was so obstinately continued, that it was not till the 6th of July that it was read a third time in the House of Commons. Two nights of debate sufficed for the discussion on the second reading in the House of Lords, where it was carried by 265 votes as against 38. The Bill underwent further discussion on two other nights, but was finally passed without alteration on the 29th of July. It soon afterwards received the Royal assent, and becoming, as its opponents predicted it would become, a dead letter, was repealed in 1871 (34 & 35 Vic. c. 53).

In other respects, the session of 1851 was comparatively barren of legislation. Yielding to the objections urged to

his first Budget, Sir Charles Wood withdrew it for another, which he submitted to the House of Commons on the 5th of April. The Window Tax was totally repealed, and in its stead a House Tax substituted, of ninepence in the pound. An attempt by Mr. Herries to cut down the Income Tax, with a view to its total repeal, was defeated by a majority of only 48, but Mr. Hume succeeded in carrying a motion against the Government that the grant of this tax should be limited to one year. An important measure was passed for enabling the Court of Chancery, by the creation of new judicial offices, to perform its functions with more despatch. But the time lost in the discussions on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and the distraction caused by the Great Exhibition, led to the postponement of many questions which might otherwise have pressed for a solution.

CHAPTER XLII.

The anxiety caused by the prolonged Ministerial crisis had added so greatly to the fatigue of their busy and exhausting life in London, that the Queen and Prince were glad to snatch a few days of rest and pure air at Osborne, to which they went on the 8th of March. One of the extensive alterations devised there by the Prince, the remodelling of the valley which slopes from the lower terrace towards the sea—a piece of bold and most successful landscape-gardening—had just been completed. The Prince records his satisfaction with it in his diary; and the labours of a correspondence, always great, and now infinitely augmented by the preparations for the coming Exhibition, were agreeably relieved by the planting of rhododendrons and other shrubs, to give colour and richness to the new outlines of his landscape pictures.

Greedily did he turn to the sweet restoratives which Nature ministered from the spectacle of Europe falling back into the trammels of irresponsible power. How he felt on this subject may be inferred from a few words in a letter at this time to Colonel Phipps:—'An outbreak at Paris would be terrible, as giving the Russian reaction all over the Continent still further power and excuse.' The effect of this reaction in Germany touched him in his most sensitive point. Its influence had become paramount at Berlin. In one direction only was Russian policy acceptable to him. The efforts which Austria was now making to introduce her whole Empire into the German Bund—a project most

obnoxious to the National German party—was viewed with no less hostility by Russia, to whom the accession of strength which this would have brought to Austria was as unpalatable as the idea of an United Germany.

On the 25th of March the Court returned to London, and from this time the attention of the Prince was engaged night and day in the arrangements for opening the Exhibition on the 1st of May. The building had been completed and given over to the Commissioners by the 1st of January. It had risen with a rapidity wholly unexampled, and by its beauty and fitness had surpassed all that had been hoped from the ingenuity of its plan.[1] Goods were now pouring in from all quarters, and the success of the Exhibition as a magnificent spectacle of the industry of all nations was no longer doubtful. It still, however, both at home and abroad, was the subject of attack. During the debate on the Address on the first night of the session, Colonel Sibthorp had prayed that hail or lightning might descend from heaven to defeat the ill-advised project. If others did not invoke doom on the structure itself, they were no less fervent in prophesying doom to property, to morals, nay, even to the State itself, as the inevitable result of bringing into London a concourse of all the bad characters in Europe. These fears, absurd at the best, became ludicrous in the light of the actual facts as they presented themselves in the holiday aspect of London during the next six months. But they cost the Prince and his coadjutors a world of trouble,

[1] Thackeray's 'May Day Ode' expressed to a nicety the prevailing feeling on the subject:

> But yesterday a naked sod,
> The dandies sneered from Rotten Row,
> And cantered o'er it to and fro;
> And see, 'tis done!
> As though 'twere by a wizard's rod,
> A blazing arch of lucid glass
> Leaps like a fountain from the grass
> To meet the sun!

This beautiful poem, cut from *The Times*, was preserved by the Prince, as it well deserved to be, among his private records of the Exhibition.

as may be seen by the following letter to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg:

'Just at present I am more dead than alive from overwork. The opponents of the Exhibition work with might and main to throw all the old women into panic and to drive myself crazy. The strangers, they give out, are certain to commence a thorough revolution here, to murder Victoria and myself, and to proclaim the Red Republic in England; the plague is certain to ensue from the confluence of such vast multitudes, and to swallow up those whom the increased price of everything has not already swept away. For all this I am to be responsible, and against all this I have to make efficient provision.

'Buckingham Palace, 15th April, 1851.'

The project was also looked upon with coldness by several of the great Continental Powers, apparently from an apprehension that contact with English institutions might open dangerous lines of opinion in the minds of their subjects, who were sure to be drawn in considerable numbers to this country by the attractions of such an Exhibition. In the case of Prussia, the Government so alarmed the King with apprehensions of danger from Republican assassins, that, for a time, he prohibited the Prince and Princess of Prussia (now Emperor and Empress of Germany) from accepting the invitation of our Queen that they should be present at the opening. This prohibition, it is stated in Bunsen's *Memoirs* (vol. ii. p. 262), was finally withdrawn, 'rather in consideration of the decided wish of the Prince to make the proposed visit, than in consequence of the arguments and the evidence which Bunsen forcibly brought before His Majesty to prove the tales of conspiracy to be wholly fictitious, which in Continental Courts were received as credible.'

Notwithstanding the absence of cordiality on the part of

the principal Continental Powers, it was considered by the Prince, that an opportunity should be afforded to the Corps Diplomatique to take a part in the proceedings of the opening day by presenting an Address to Her Majesty. His reasons were thus expressed by himself in a letter to Lord John Russell. The opening 'is not a purely English ceremony for an English object, but an International one, in which all nations have taken an active part. Half the building is in charge of Foreign authorities, half the collection the property of Foreign countries, half the Juries are appointed by Foreign Governments, who have also defrayed the expenses of the foreign part of the Exhibition. It would have been wrong, therefore, in my opinion, not to have given the representatives of these Foreign nations the opportunity of taking an active part in the opening ceremony.'

The late M. Van de Weyer, as Doyen of the Corps Diplomatique, was requested by Lord Granville to lay the proposal before his colleagues, who were summoned to consider it. Meanwhile, M. Van de Weyer went to each of them personally and explained the object of the meeting. With the exception of Baron Brunnow, whom he did not find at home, they all approved of the idea and authorised him, as time pressed, to communicate their individual assent to Lord Granville. At the meeting next day, however, Baron Brunnow worked so strongly upon the fears of the Foreign Ministers, suggesting that they might be disavowed by their Governments, that several seceded; and, upon a vote being taken, they decided, by a majority of three, to decline presenting an Address. 'The political reason of Baron Brunnow expressed at the meeting was, that he could not allow the Russian people or nation to be alluded to in an official Address; the private reason given to Lord Palmerston was, that he did not choose to allow the Belgian or any other Minister to speak for him, and therefore for his Court.'

These are M. Van de Weyer's words, in a letter to the present writer (23rd January, 1871): 'I left immediately,' he adds, 'for Windsor Castle, and made my report to the Queen and Prince. The answer I was instructed to carry back was as follows: "*La Reine a désiré, dans une circonstance exceptionnelle, faire au Corps Diplomatique un compliment marqué. Sa Majesté ne peut pas forcer le Corps Diplomatique d'accepter une politesse, qui serait partout ailleurs acceptée comme une faveur.*" On my return to town I found that two of the three seceders had already repented of their foolish vote, and that Brunnow's remained the only dissenting voice. But, as unanimity was required, it was decided by the Foreign Office that no Address should be presented by the Corps Diplomatique; and that they, as mute as fish, should pass before the Queen, make their bow, and stand on the side of the platform, where they certainly did look like fish out of water. I must add that, on reflection, they were thoroughly ashamed of what they had done.' This feeling must have been deepened when they found, as they soon did, how completely the spirit in which they had acted was at variance with the generous interest in the Exhibition shown by the countries which they represented, as well in the efforts those countries had made to contribute to its treasures as in the vast numbers whom they sent to profit by its teaching.

By the 29th of April, things were sufficiently advanced for the Queen to make a private visit to what was two days afterwards to be the scene of a brilliant ceremonial, at which any detailed survey of what had been brought together would have been impossible. 'We remained two hours and a half,' says Her Majesty's diary, 'and I came back quite beaten, and my head bewildered, from the myriads of beautiful and wonderful things, which now quite dazzle one's eyes! Such efforts have been made, and our people have shown such taste in their manufactures! All owing to this Great Exhibition and to

Albert—*all to him!* We went up into the gallery, and the sight from there, with the numerous courts full of all sorts of objects of art, manufacture, &c., is quite marvellous. The noise was overpowering, for so much was going on everywhere, and from twelve to twenty thousand people engaged in arranging all sorts of things.'

The entry in the Prince's diary the same day is brief and significant: 'Terrible trouble with the arrangements for the opening.' The next day the Queen writes: 'Everybody is occupied with the great day of to-morrow, and my poor Albert is terribly fagged. All day long some question or other, some little difficulty or hitch, all which Albert took with the greatest quiet and good temper. Great as is his triumph, glorious as is his name, he never says a word about it; but labours to the last, feeling quietly satisfied in the country's glory, and in having gone on steadily in spite of the immense difficulties and opposition.' Another visit was paid the same day to the Exhibition,—this time with the Prince and Princess of Prussia, who with their son and daughter had arrived at Buckingham Palace the day before. 'They were thunderstruck,' the Queen writes. 'The noise and bustle were even greater than yesterday, as so many preparations for the seats of the spectators are going on. Certainly much was still to be done. We walked entirely round the galleries. The fountains were playing below, some beautiful ones,—and many flowers and palms have been placed, which has a most charming effect.'

'Good Stockmar,' the diary continues, 'came to me, and I talked to him of the Exhibition and of our guests—the Prince [now Emperor of Germany], who is as firm as ever in his constitutional views, and highly indignant at what has taken place, and is taking place at Berlin—the young Prince, who is so amiable and good. After luncheon George [Duke of Cambridge], who had just come from Ireland, came and talked

of to-morrow, also (to me quite unaccountably) anxious about it.' In this anxiety the Duke was by no means singular, apprehensions being entertained in many quarters, that the bringing together of such an immense crowd as might be expected in the parks on the opening day would be made the occasion for some popular outbreak. Not even our famous 10th of April had taught the alarmists to draw a juster conclusion. The Queen understood the temper and the loyalty of her people too well to have any such fears. How right she was, was fully proved by the universal good humour and enthusiasm that everywhere prevailed next day. In a letter from a distinguished General, whose official duties gave him the best means of observation, and who had himself not been without misgivings, it was remarked: 'It is certain that I have never on any former occasion, excepting perhaps Her Majesty's Coronation, seen such an universal disposition to be pleased in any large assembly of people.' [2]

The shock of delighted surprise which every one felt on first entering the great transept of Sir Joseph Paxton's building was a sensation as novel as it was deep. Its vastness was measured by the huge elms, two of the giants of the park, which rose far into the air with all their wealth of foliage, as free and unconfined as if there were nothing between them and the open sky. The plash of fountains, the luxuriance of tropical foliage, the play of colours from the choicest flowers, carried on into the vistas of the nave by the rich dyes of carpets and stuffs from the costliest looms, were enough to fill eye and mind with a pleasure never to be forgotten, even

[2] 'On the day of the opening,' Mr. Higgins [Jacob Omnium] under the name of 'Pimlicola,' wrote in *The Times*: 'I overheard a German and a Frenchman disputing about English loyalty. "It is a principle," said the one. "No, it is a passion," screamed the other, and would not give in; while, in truth, it is both: it is always a principle, even when the Crown behaves badly; but let it treat the people well, and this quiet principle becomes a headlong passion, swelling into such enthusiasm as the Frenchman saw, when he jotted down in his note-book, "In England loyalty is a passion."'

without the vague sense of what lay beyond in the accumulated results of human ingenuity and cultivated art. One general effect of beauty had been produced by the infinitely varied work of the thousands who had separately co-operated towards this marvellous display, and the structure in which it was set, by its graceful lines and the free play of light which it admitted, seemed to fulfil every condition that could be desired for setting off the treasures thus brought together.

Beautiful at all times, the sight which the transept presented on the opening day, with its eager crowds raised row upon row, with the toilets of the women and the sprinkling of court costumes and uniforms, added to its permanent features, was one which men grew eloquent in describing. As the eye rested on the rich and varied picture, the first thought that rose was one of gratitude to the Prince, as he stood there looking with his accustomed air of modest calm upon the splendid fulfilment of what two years before he had foreseen in thought. Much has been written of the incidents of that day by observers from without. Let us now see with what feelings they were regarded in the Palace where the plan of the Exhibition had been conceived and matured. We quote from the Queen's diary:—

'May 1.—The great event has taken place—a complete and beautiful triumph—a glorious and touching sight, one which I shall ever be proud of for my beloved Albert and my country. . . . Yes! it is a day which makes my heart swell with pride and glory and thankfulness!

'We began it with tenderest greetings for the birthday of our dear little Arthur. At breakfast there was nothing but congratulations. . . . Mama and Victor[3] were there and all the children and our guests. Our humble gifts of toys were added to by a beautiful little bronze *replica* of the Amazon

[3] Prince Victor of Hohenlohe Langenburg, Count Gleichen, the Queen's nephew, who subsequently served with distinction in the British navy, and has since distinguished himself by his skill as a sculptor.

(Kiss's) from the Prince (of Prussia), a beautiful paper-knife from the Princess (of Prussia), and a nice little clock from Mama.

'The Park presented a wonderful spectacle, crowds streaming through it, carriages and troops passing, quite like the Coronation day, and for me the same anxiety,—no, much greater anxiety on account of my beloved Albert. The day was bright and all bustle and excitement. . . . . At half-past eleven the whole procession in state carriages was in motion. . . . . The Green Park and Hyde Park were one densely crowded mass of human beings, in the highest good humour and most enthusiastic. I never saw Hyde Park look as it did,—as far as the eye could reach. A little rain fell just as we started; but before we came near the Crystal Palace the sun shone and gleamed upon the gigantic edifice, upon which the flags of all the Nations were floating. We drove up Rotten Row and got out at the entrance on that side.

'The glimpse of the transept through the iron gates, the waving palms, flowers, statues, myriads of people filling the galleries and seats around, with the flourish of trumpets as we entered, gave us a sensation which I can never forget, and I felt much moved. We went for a moment to a little side room, where we left our shawls, and where we found Mama and Mary (now Princess of Teck), and outside which were standing the other Princes. In a few seconds we proceeded, Albert leading me, having Vicky at his hand, and Bertie holding mine. The sight, as we came to the middle, where the steps and chair (which I did *not* sit on) were placed, with the beautiful Crystal fountain just in front of it,—was magical,—so vast, so glorious, so touching. One felt,—as so many did whom I have since spoken to—filled with devotion,—more so than by any service I have ever heard. The tremendous cheers, the joy expressed in every face, the immensity of the building, the mixture of palms, flowers, trees,

statues, fountains,—the organ (with 200 instruments and 600 voices, which sounded like nothing), and my beloved husband the author of this "Peace-Festival," which united the industry of all nations of the earth,—all this was moving indeed, and it was and is a day to live for ever. God bless my dearest Albert, God bless my dearest country, which has shown itself so great to-day! One felt so grateful to the great God, who seemed to pervade all and to bless all![4] The only event it in the slightest degree reminded me of was the Coronation, but this day's festival was a thousand times superior. In fact, it is unique, and can bear no comparison, from its peculiarity, beauty, and combination of such different and striking objects. I mean the slight resemblance only as to its solemnity: the enthusiasm and cheering, too, were much more touching, for in a church naturally all is silent.

[4] In reading this vivid description, so glowing with an emotion that speaks directly to the heart, we are again reminded of Thackeray's 'May Day Ode:'

I felt a thrill of love and awe,
To mark the different garb of each,
The changing tongue, the various speech
Together blent,
A thrill methinks, like his, who saw
'All people dwelling upon earth,
Praising our God with solemn mirth
And one consent.'

. . . . . .

Behold her in her Royal place;
A gentle lady—and the hand
That sways the sceptre of this land,
How frail and weak!
Soft is the voice, and fair the face;
She breathes Amen to prayer and hymn,—
No wonder that her eyes are dim,
And pale her cheek.

. . . . . .

The fountain in the basin plays,
The chanting organ echoes clear,
An awful chorus 'tis to hear,
A wondrous song!
Swell, organ, swell your trumpet blast,
March, Queen and Royal pageant, march
By splendid aisle and springing arch
Of this fair Hall!
And see! above the fabric vast,
God's boundless heaven is bending blue,
God's peaceful sun is beaming through,
And shining over all.

'Albert left my side after "God Save the Queen" had been sung, and at the head of the Commissioners—a curious assemblage of political and distinguished men—read me the Report, which is a long one, and to which I read a short answer. After which the Archbishop of Canterbury offered up a short and appropriate prayer, followed by the "Hallelujah Chorus," during which the Chinese Mandarin came forward and made his obeisance.[5] This concluded, the procession began. It was beautifully arranged, and of great length,—the prescribed order being exactly adhered to. The Nave was full, which had not been intended; but still there was no difficulty, and the whole long walk from one end to the other was made in the midst of continued and deafening cheers and waving of handkerchiefs. Every one's face was bright and smiling, many with tears in their eyes. Many Frenchmen called out "Vive la Reine!" One could, of course, see nothing but what was near in the Nave, and nothing in the Courts. The organs were but little heard, but the Military Band, at one end, had a very fine effect as we passed along. They played the March from *Athalie*. The beautiful Amazon, in bronze, by Kiss, looked very magnificent. The old Duke and Lord Anglesey walked arm in arm, which was a

[5] While the Hallelujah chorus was being performed, a Chinese, touched apparently by the solemnity of the scene, made his way slowly round the great fountain, and made a profound obeisance to the Queen. 'This live importation from the Celestial Empire,' the reporter of the *Examiner* records, 'managed to render himself extremely conspicuous, and one could not help admiring his perfect composure and nonchalance of manner. He talked with nobody, yet he seemed perfectly at home, and on the most friendly terms with all. A most amusing advantage was taken of his appearance, for, when the procession was formed, the diplomatic body had no Chinese representative, and our stray Celestial friend was quietly impounded and made to march in the rear of the ambassadors. He submitted to this arrangement with the same calm indifference which marked the whole course of his proceedings, and bore himself with a steadiness and gravity that fully justified the course which had been adopted. His behaviour throughout was that of "a citizen of the world" as perfect as Goldsmith's philosopher himself.'

touching sight. I saw many acquaintances amongst those present.

'We returned to our own place, and Albert told Lord Breadalbane to declare that the Exhibition was opened, which he did in a loud voice—"Her Majesty commands me to declare this Exhibition open,"—which was followed by a flourish of trumpets and immense cheering. All the Commissioners, the Executive Committee, &c., who worked so hard and to whom such immense praise is due, seemed truly happy, and no one more so than Paxton, who may be justly proud; he rose from being a common gardener's boy. Everybody was astonished and delighted, Sir George Grey [Home Secretary] in tears.

'The return was equally satisfactory,—the crowd most enthusiastic, the order perfect. We reached the Palace at twenty minutes past one, and went out on the balcony, and were loudly cheered. The Prince and Princess [of Prussia] quite delighted and impressed. That *we* felt happy—thankful—I need not say; proud of all that had passed, of my darling husband's success, and of the behaviour of my good people. I was more impressed than I can say by the scene. It was one that can never be effaced from my memory, and never will be from that of any one who witnessed it. Albert's name is immortalised, and the wicked and absurd reports of dangers of every kind, which a set of people, viz. the *soi-disant* fashionables and the most violent Protectionists, spread, are silenced. It is therefore doubly satisfactory, that all should have gone off so well, and without the slightest accident or mishap. . . . Albert's emphatic words last year, when he said that the feeling would be, "*that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which he has bestowed upon us already here below*," this day realised. . . .

'I must not omit to mention an interesting episode of this day, viz. the visit of the good old Duke on this his

eighty-second birthday to his little godson, our dear little boy. He came to us both at five, and gave him a golden cup and some toys, which he had himself chosen, and Arthur gave him a nosegay.

'We dined *en famille*, and then went to the Covent Garden Opera, where we saw the two finest acts of the *Huguenots* given as beautifully as last year. I was rather tired; but we were both so happy, so full of thankfulness! God is indeed our kind and merciful Father!'

Among the first to offer their congratulations to the Queen upon the brilliant success of the day's proceedings were Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. 'It was a day,' the latter wrote at the close of an official letter, 'the result of which must be no less gratifying to your Majesty than honourable to the nation whose good fortune it is to have your Majesty for its Sovereign.' Lord John Russell, fresh from the scene, could not refrain from congratulating 'the Queen on the triumphant success of the proceedings of this day. Everything went off so well,' he continued, 'that it is needless to mention particulars; but the general conduct of the multitudes assembled, the loyalty and the content which so generally appeared, were perhaps the most gratifying to a politician, while the wonders of art and industry will be the most celebrated among philosophers and men of science, as well as among manufacturers and the great mass of the working people.' Besides the 25,000 people within the building itself, it was calculated that nearly 700,000 people were assembled on the route between it and Buckingham Palace, yet Sir George Grey was able to report next day to the Queen that there had not been one accident, one police case due to this assemblage.[6]

[6] The perfect order and good humour of the people produced a deep impression upon foreigners. In one of his brilliant *feuilletons*, written the same day for the *Journal des Débats*, M. Jules Janin wrote: '*C'est un peuple étrange,*

Not the least welcome among the congratulations was one from Lady Lyttelton, who had retired, honoured and regretted, from the Queen's service in the previous month of January.[7] 'I own,' she wrote to the Queen, 'I was not without anxiety, and was visited by many fears and doubts. The result has been, thank God! so delightful, as to do much more than dispel them; and must have surpassed the highest expectations. One moment was surely among the brightest of even your Majesty's bright life,—that, when you received the address from his Royal Highness, and felt the full success of so noble, so daring, and so benevolent a plan, his own work, which must cause the name so supremely dear to your Majesty to be uttered with admiration and gratitude throughout the nations, and remembered with due honour for ever.'

'I longed,' Her Majesty wrote in answer, 'to hear from you, feeling sure that you would think of me on the occasion of that great and glorious 1st of May. The proudest and happiest day of—as you truly call it—my happy life. . . . To see this great conception of my beloved husband's mind, which is always labouring for the good of others—to see this great thought and work crowned with triumphant success, in spite of difficulties and opposition of every imaginable kind, and of every effort to which jealousy and calumny could resort to cause its failure, has been an immense happiness to

le peuple Anglais! Il est calme toujours; il se hâte, mais il se hâte dans certaines limites; il est patient même, dans son enthousiasme! Comme il ne veut pas être gouverné, il se gouverne lui-même, et quiconque désobéit à l'ordre indiqué, soudain le premier-venu prête main-forte au policeman. . . . Dans le même ordre où cette foule était venu elle est évanouie! On n'eût jamais dit, à trois heures, que trente mille âmes, avides de tout voir et de tout entendre, étaient contenues dans cette enceinte.'

[7] She was succeeded as governess by Lady Caroline Barrington, sister of the present Earl Grey, who continued in office until her death in February, 1875, endeared to the Queen and to the Royal children no less by her truly kind heart than by the strong sense and independence of character which distinguishes the family to which she belonged.

us both. But to me the glory of his dear name, united with the glory of my dear country, which shone more than she has ever done on that great day, is a source of pride, happiness, and thankfulness which none but a wife's heart can comprehend.'

Kind words, too, came from the King of the Belgians, who had not been able to be present, but came over to England a few weeks afterwards, and made a thorough study of the Exhibition. On the 3rd of May he wrote to the Queen: 'I wish you joy with all my heart, that everything went off in such a glorious way at the opening of the Exhibition, and can well understand your happiness in seeing thus our beloved Albert's work crowned with unexampled success. It is well merited, as it was a truly colossal task, and human nature is always inclined to vilify and to render perilous all such undertakings, from that pretty generally diffused disposition to enjoy the non-success of one's neighbour and fellow-creature. I sincerely regret not to have witnessed such a glorious sight as the Opening must have been, *aber ich bin allen diesen Dingen sehr abgestorben* (but the time for all such things is gone by with me).

'I am glad that Foreigners saw for once, that to the highest authority in the State even a great and free country like England may show real and great respect. The sceptical and cynical turn which the press in France has given to the public mind has shown itself since the Restoration by constant efforts to render the supreme government, and particularly the person ostensibly at the head of it, ridiculous and odious in every imaginable way. They have very pretty results to boast of this system.'[8]

[8] Compare this with the following passage from the *feuilleton* by M. Jules Janin, already cited: '*Aujourd'hui, et tout à l'heure, nous avons compris, nous autres hommes, de cet âge rebelle, qui recueillons les discordes et les tempêtes semées par nos pères—sceptiques qui rougissons d'obéir à la loi, et qui courbons*

When the Prince appeared at the Royal Academy dinner on the 3rd of May, the warmth with which the toast of his health was received was due in no slight measure to the feeling which had now become general, that England owed him much for what he had done for her in organising the Exhibition, which was the engrossing topic of the hour. His share in the work had been touched upon by the President, Sir Charles Eastlake, in proposing the toast, with all the grace and point for which that gentleman's speeches soon came to be remarked. But passing with his accustomed modesty from this in some degree personal topic, the Prince proceeded to a well-deserved eulogium on their new President, at whose election, he said, he had heartily rejoiced, not only on account of his high estimate of his qualities, but also on account of his feelings of personal regard towards him. 'My connection with him, for now nine years,' he went on to say, 'on Her Majesty's Commission of the Fine Arts, has enabled me to know what you can know less, and what is of the greatest value in a President of the Royal Academy—I mean that kindness of heart and refinement of feeling which guided him in all his communications, often most difficult and delicate, with the different artists whom we had to invite to competition, whose works we had to criticise, whom we had to employ or to reject.'

The opportunity of calling attention to some general truths which it was well should be borne in mind by both artists and the public, was not likely to be let slip by the Prince on such an occasion. What he then said applies, at the present hour, with even greater force. One sentence of it should never be forgotten by all who profess to tell the public what is good in any form of imaginative or intel-

nos fronts déshonorés devant la nécessité au joug de fer—nous avons contemplés, et de très près, cette chose sans nom chez nous, un trône! cette grandeur oubliée, la Majesté! cette force toute-puissante, le respect!'

lectual effort—'the injudicious praise of an inferior work becomes an insult to superior genius.' But the whole of this portion of the speech deserves to be recalled:

'Gentlemen, the production of all works in art or poetry requires, in their conception and execution, not only an exercise of the intellect, skill, and patience, but particularly *a concurrent warmth of feeling* and a free flow of imagination. This renders them most tender plants, which will thrive only in an atmosphere calculated to maintain that warmth, and that atmosphere is one of *kindness*—kindness towards the artist personally as well as towards his production. An unkind word of criticism passes like a cold blast over their tender shoots, and shrivels them up, checking the flow of the sap, which was rising to produce, perhaps, multitudes of flowers and fruit. But still criticism is absolutely necessary to the development of art, and the injudicious praise of an inferior work becomes an insult to superior genius.

'In this respect our times are peculiarly unfavourable when compared with those when Madonnas were painted in the seclusion of convents; for we have now, on the one hand, the eager competition of a vast array of artists of every degree of talent and skill, and, on the other, as judge, a great public, for the greater part wholly uneducated in art, and thus led by professional writers, who often strive to impress the public with a great idea of their own artistic knowledge by the merciless manner in which they treat works which cost those who produced them the highest efforts of mind or feeling.

'The works of art, by being publicly exhibited and offered for sale, are becoming articles of trade, following as such the unreasoning laws of markets and fashion; and public and even private patronage is swayed by their tyrannical influence.'

No Academy, the Prince knew well, could neutralise these evils, but it could do something as a counterpoise against them. It might set up a high standard of education; it might recognise and foster genius, it might present by its honorary distinctions a stimulus and a goal to persevering endeavour, and at the same time afford some pledge to the

public of the merits of the artists on whom they were conferred. To do less than this was to fail in its duty, and there was a word of useful warning in the following sentence, towards the close of the speech, against the besetting tendency of all close corporations :

> ' If this body is often assailed from without, it shares only the fate of every aristocracy ; if more than another, this only proves that it is even more difficult to sustain an aristocracy of merit than one of birth or of wealth, and may serve as a useful check upon yourselves when tempted at your elections to let personal predilection compete with real merit.'

Some weeks afterwards (17th June) the Prince was called upon to speak upon an occasion of a very different kind. The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which had attained its one hundred and fiftieth year, was about to hold a commemoration of the fact, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury solicited the Prince to preside. The confluence of visitors from all our Indian and Colonial possessions, drawn together by the Great Exhibition, was favourable to a jubilee of this kind, and it was felt that the presence of the Prince at a time when the country was agitated by the controversies and divisions to which the Papal aggression had given rise, would do much to secure harmony and confidence, and at the same time enlist substantial sympathy and help for the objects of the Society. Lord John Russell, on being consulted by the Prince, approved of his complying with the request. The Prince had himself the welfare of the Society so much at heart, that he acted on his advice, overwearied though he was with incessant work and the fatigues of a season unusually brilliant, and in which the claims of hospitality left no minute free that could be spared from his public duties. His assent, however, he intimated to the Archbishop was given ' in the full confidence that this is not a movement adopted particularly by any party in the Church,

but that the Church generally will be represented at the meeting, and that consequently there will be full security that no expressions will be used that can give just cause of offence to any denomination of Christians.'

The condition was of course accepted and kept. Determined, however, that he should not be drawn into a party demonstration, the Prince took particular precautions that moderate as well as High Churchmen should be among the speakers at the meeting. The list, which included the Bishop of London (Blomfield), Lord John Russell, Earl Grey, Mr. Sidney Herbert, the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce), the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Harrowby, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, shows how well the balance had been adjusted, and what excellent provision made for securing a broad and statesmanlike treatment of the topics to be discussed. Of this the Prince set an impressive example by his speech. It bears the marks of having been prepared with more than ordinary care. Though framed particularly with a view to the then disturbed state of public feeling on matters of religious controversy, it embodies important truths of universal application. As it also throws valuable light upon the opinions of the Prince, both political and religious, the leading passages of it are here reproduced:

'This Society was first chartered by that great man, William the Third, the greatest sovereign this country has to boast of; by whose sagacity and energy was closed that bloody struggle for civil and religious liberty which so long had convulsed this country, and who secured to us the inestimable advantages of our Constitution and of our Protestant faith.

'Having thus placed the country upon a safe basis at home, he could boldly meet her foes abroad, and contribute to the foundation of that colonial empire which forms so important a part of our present greatness; and honour be to him for his endeavour to place this foundation upon the rock of the Church.

'The first jubilee of the Society fell in times when religious

apathy had succeeded to the over-excitement of the preceding age. Lax morals and a sceptical philosophy began to undermine the Christian faith, treating with indifference and even ridicule the most sacred objects. Still this Society persevered in its labours with unremitting zeal, turning its chief attention to the North American continent, where a young and vigorous society was rapidly growing into a people.

'The second jubilee found this country in a most critical position; she had obtained, by the peace of Amiens, a moment's respite from the tremendous contest in which she had been engaged with her continental rival, and which she had soon to renew, in order to maintain her own existence, and to secure a permanent peace to Europe. Since the last jubilee, the American colonies, which had originally been peopled chiefly by British subjects who had left their homes to escape the yoke of religious intolerance and oppression, had thrown off their allegiance to the mother country in defence of civil rights, the attachment to which they had carried with them from the British soil. Yet this Society was not dismayed, but in a truly Christian spirit continued its labours in the neighbouring North American and West Indian settlements.

'This, the third jubilee, falls in a happier epoch, when peace is established in Europe, and religious fervour is rekindled, and at an auspicious moment when we are celebrating a festival of the civilisation of mankind, to which all quarters of the globe have contributed their productions, and are sending their people, for the first time recognising their advancement as a common good, their interests as identical, their mission on earth the same.

'And this civilisation rests on Christianity, could only be raised on Christianity, can only be maintained by Christianity! the blessings of which are now carried by this Society to the vast territories of India and Australasia, which last are again to be peopled by the Anglo-Saxon race.

'Whilst we have thus to congratulate ourselves upon our state of temporal prosperity, harmony at home, and peace abroad, we cannot help deploring that the Church, whose exertions for the progress of Christianity and civilisation we are to-day acknowledging, should be afflicted by internal dissensions and attacks from without. I have no fear, however, for her safety and ulti-

mate welfare, so long as she holds fast to what our ancestors gained for us at the Reformation—*the Gospel and the unfettered right of its use.*

'The dissensions and difficulties which we witness in this as in every other Church arise from the natural and necessary conflict of the two antagonistic principles which move human society in Church as well as in State; I mean the principles of *individual liberty and of allegiance and submission to the will of the community*, exacted by it for its own preservation.

'These conflicting principles cannot safely be disregarded: they must be reconciled. To this country belongs the honour of having succeeded in this mighty task, as far as the State is concerned, whilst other nations are still wrestling with it; and I feel persuaded that the same earnest zeal and practical wisdom which has made her political Constitution an object of admiration to other nations will, under God's blessing, make her Church likewise a model to the world.

'Let us look upon this assembly as a token of future hope; and may the harmony which reigns amongst us at this moment, and which we owe to having met in furtherance of a common holy object, be by the Almighty permanently bestowed upon the Church!'

In writing to the Queen next day, Lord John Russell expressed what certainly was the impression generally produced by the way in which the Prince had executed his difficult task, when he said, that 'he observed with great pleasure yesterday, that the speech of the Prince had an excellent effect. With many dangers on every side, every word was admirable; nothing left unsaid that ought to be said, and nothing said that ought to be avoided.'

The opinion of so competent a judge could not be otherwise than gratifying, and the same day Her Majesty wrote in reply:

'We are both much pleased at what Lord John Russell says about the Prince's speech of yesterday. It was on so ticklish a subject, that one could not feel certain beforehand

how it might be taken. At the same time, the Queen felt sure that the Prince would say the right thing, from her entire confidence in his great tact and judgment. The Queen, at the risk of not appearing sufficiently modest (and yet why should a wife ever be modest about her husband's merits?) must say, that she thinks Lord John Russell will admit now, that the Prince is possessed of very extraordinary powers of mind and heart. She feels so proud of being his wife, that she cannot refrain from herself paying a tribute to his noble character.'

Lord John Russell had long been well satisfied as to the Prince's qualities, on which Her Majesty dwells with such natural emphasis. Of this he seized the opportunity thus afforded to him of giving the strongest assurance in a few eloquent words:—

'Pembroke Lodge, 18th June, 1851.

'Lord J. Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He is most gratified by the expression of your Majesty's sentiments, which there would certainly be no merit in concealing. Lord J. R. has long thought the Prince's character very extraordinary for abilities, judgment, information, and a sympathy for all the sorrows and joys of his fellow-creatures. These qualities in so exalted a station, and in such quicksand times, are of the utmost value to the nation at large; and while your Majesty derives the first and nearest benefit from them, they extend from the Royal Family to the subjects of your Majesty's Crown in every part of the globe.'

CHAPTER XLIII.

Amid the greater claims which this busy year made upon the Prince's attention, he still found time to show his lively interest in whatever was being done for literature, art, and science. When Macready took his leave of the stage on the 1st of February, he was there with the Queen to testify his respect to the veteran artist. An evening was devoted to hearing Rachel, then in her fullest power, in the *Andromaque*, another to witness the performance at Devonshire House by Dickens, Jerrold, Forster, and the other promoters of the Guild of Literature and Art, of Sir E. L. Bulwer's comedy *Not so Bad as we Seem*. He was a frequent visitor at the studios of the leading painters. In April he heard Sir Charles Lyell and Professor Faraday lecture at the Royal Institution. In May he opened the Museum of Practical Geology, and attended the soirée of the Institute of Civil Engineers. In June he laid the foundation stone of the City Consumption Hospital. In short, wherever a good work was to be advanced, wherever knowledge was to be gained, wherever new discoveries in science or mechanics were to be seen, the Prince was certain to be found, however hard the effort it cost him to make his presence compatible with his more urgent duties.

On the 3rd of July he went to attend the meeting of the British Association at Ipswich. During his stay he was the guest of Sir William Middleton at Shrublands, from which he wrote to the Queen immediately after his arrival:

'Shrublands, 3rd July, 1851.
'Half-past five, P.M.

'Just arrived here, and already threatened with the intelligence, that the messenger will lose the last train from Ipswich, if he does not start directly. I have locked myself in to send you two lines as a token of my life and love. I was at the section punctually by eleven, and got through it by three. Enclosed you will find a plan of the battle, which

Sections	Arrival	Departure	Probable papers
A. Physical .	Half-past eleven	Quarter-past twelve	1. Bond, Astronomical Observations by Electro-Magnetism, and Daguerreotypes of the Moon. 2. Col. Reid, On Mooring Ships in Revolving Gales.
B. Chemical .	Quarter-past twelve	Half to one	Mercer, On the Contraction of Calico as shown in the Great Exhibition, Playfair.
E. Geography	Quarter to one	Half-past one	1. Tchitacheff, Travels in Asia Minor, and Murchison. 2. Asa Whitney, On a Rapid Intercourse between Europe and Asia.
C. Geology .	Twenty to two	Half-past two	Either Papers on Crags by Phillips and Owen, or Drifts, by Murchison and Hopkins, Sedgwick and Lyell.

will give you information as to the subjects and persons of the essays and the essayists. My reception has been everywhere most cordial and hearty. Bunsen is here, and Van de Weyer, Cust, Argyle, Murchison, Lords Stradbrook, Monteagle, and Wrottesley, &c. The house has been recently built by Barry; the situation very pretty and high. You

will be feeling somewhat lonely and forsaken among the two and a half millions of human beings in London; and I too feel the want of only one person to give a world of life to everything around me.'

Only one who was daily accustomed, like the Prince, to deal rapidly with a great variety of subjects within the course of a few hours, could have endured the strain upon the attention, which we see from the preceding table was entailed by his visits to the various sections of the meeting. Next morning the Prince writes to the Queen:—

'Shrublands, 4th July, 1851,
'Half-past ten o'clock.

'"I have slept well," said the Count Isenburg; "have you, too, done the same?"

'The park and the gardens are very fine. There was rather a large party at dinner. After dinner it included the whole county. The weather is cool and too dry for the roses of my host. In half an hour I return to my section at Ipswich, thence to the Museum, lunch with Mr. Ransome the Quaker, thereafter lay a foundation stone for Queen Elizabeth's School, and start for home about four. The messenger who carries these lines leaves about one; but for all that he will only be about an hour and a half before me.

'Hearty thanks for your dear kind letter. Thank the children also for theirs, and tell Bertie his letter was very well written. Now farewell.'

The next day we find the Prince presiding at a prolonged meeting of the Exhibition Commissioners, at which some interesting figures were produced, which must have dispelled the last remains of any misgivings as to the financial success of the undertaking. The Exhibition had now been open nine weeks and three days. The lowest amount received at the doors in one week was 10,298*l*. In two successive weeks it

had considerably exceeded 16,000*l.*, and in one it had gone up to 22,189*l.* Greater results were yet to be reached; but the fact was by this time apparent, that there would be a large surplus, and the question how it was to be disposed of, was already engaging the Prince's attention.

Baron Stockmar, after spending the winter and spring months in England, had left for the Continent along with the King of the Belgians on the 2nd of July. One of the last services he had performed for his Royal hosts was to find a successor in Major (now Sir Thomas) Biddulph to General Bowles, who had recently resigned, owing to failing health, the office of Master of the Household.[1] He had also taken an active part in the negotiations about a tutor for the Prince of Wales to succeed Mr. Birch, who had hitherto filled that position, but was to retire in a few months. Sir James Stephen had recommended to the Prince Mr. Frederick W. Gibbs, M.A.,[2] and it had been settled that he should take Mr. Birch's place after the lapse of a few months, which, by the Prince's wish, he was to devote to some preliminary studies abroad and at Edinburgh. To the completion of these arrangements the Prince refers in the following letter to Baron Stockmar:

'Dear Stockmar,—My expedition to Ipswich has gone off extremely well. I have been very enthusiastically received in Suffolk, and had a most cordial reception at Sir William Middleton's at Shrublands, and heard many interesting papers read and discussions carried on in all departments of science. Coming back here I am conscious of a very great void. . . .

'Now, however, I must report progress, as they say in the House of Commons. One General Wood, the Lieutenant of

[1] Sir George Bowles, who entered the Army in 1804, continued in active service down to 1845, when he became Master of the Household. He died in May, 1876, in the 90th year of his age.

[2] Mr. Gibbs continued to act as the Prince of Wales's tutor down to 1858.

the Tower, with 700*l.* a year, has been so good as to die, and Bowles is in rapture at being nominated his successor.

'Major Biddulph has got leave until an exchange can be arranged for him. I have seen him and like him much; he is highly spoken of on all sides. He will enter on his duties in a few days.

'With Wellesley I have come to an understanding about the religious instruction, which will commence when we go to Windsor.

'Gibbs I have seen twice, shown him the children, and conferred with him about the journey.

'Now is my wallet empty, and though my heart be not so also, still I won't bore you by shaking it out before you. You know it already in its inmost folds.

'Buckingham Palace, 9th July, 1851.'

On the evening of the day on which this letter was written the Queen and Prince attended a Ball given at Guildhall by the Corporation of London to celebrate the success of the Great Exhibition. Shortly after nine o'clock the Royal guests left Buckingham Palace in state carriages, and passed to the City through avenues of spectators who lined the streets along the route, and greeted them with an enthusiasm of which the numerous foreigners who swelled the crowd were not slow to catch the infection. The City, it need scarcely be said, spared no cost to make the Ball worthy of the occasion. The Royal guests did not leave till one o'clock, and found, what they could scarcely have expected, that they were received on their homeward route by a crowd even more numerous and enthusiastic than before. The Prince reports the result to Baron Stockmar thus:

'The City Ball passed off most brilliantly. A million of people remained till three in the morning in the streets, and were full of enthusiasm towards us. To-night we have our

last Ball. The day after to-morrow I come back here to dine with the Agricultural Society. The Cattle Show we have already visited, and our present notion is to return to town. On the 18th we go to Osborne for good.

'Windsor Castle, 14th July, 1851.'

The season was now drawing to a close; but the Prince had yet one speech to make before leaving town. This was at the dinner of the Royal Agricultural Society, which this year held its annual show in the Home Park, under the northern terrace of Windsor Castle. The Prince made a happy use of the circumstance in his address:

'Some years,' he said, 'have elapsed since I last dined with you in this migratory pavilion, and I am glad that you should have pitched it this day under the walls of Windsor Castle, and that I should myself have an opportunity of bidding you a hearty welcome in the Home Park.

'Your encampment singularly contrasts with that which the Barons of England, the feudal lords of the land, with their retainers, erected round old Windsor Castle on a similar mead, though not exactly in the same locality. They came then clad in steel, with lance and war-horse; you appear in a more peaceful attire, and the animals you bring with you are the tokens of your successful cultivation of the arts of peace. King John came trembling amongst his subjects, unwillingly compelled to sign that Great Charter which has ever since been your birthright. Your Sovereign came confiding among her loyal and loving people; she came to admire the results of their industry, and to encourage them to persevere in their exertions.

'And the gratification which the Queen has felt at the sight of your splendid collection must, I am sure, be participated in by all who examine it. I am doubly pleased at this success, not only because it is witnessed by the many visitors from foreign lands now within our shores, whom every Englishman must wish to inspire with respect for the state of British agriculture, but also because I feel to a certain degree personally responsible for having deprived you of one generally most interesting feature of your show; I mean the field-fruits and the agricultural machines

and implements. Though separated from your collection, they are seen to great advantage in another royal park; and you will have been glad to hear that, "whatever the difficulty may be in deciding upon the superiority of the works of industry and art sent to the Crystal Palace by the different nations of the earth, the British agricultural implements are acknowledged by common consent to stand there almost without a rival." '

Few days had passed since the first of May, that the Exhibition had not been visited by the Queen and Prince, and by none had the lessons it taught been more assiduously learned. On the 18th of July, it was visited by them for the last time for many weeks. Next day the Queen writes to Baron Stockmar:

'Buckingham Palace, 19th July, 1851.

'. . . We go out of town to-morrow, and, though it is a great relief to us, still it pains me that this brilliant, and for ever memorable season should be past.

'London is really a wonderful sight, for the streets and parks are quite alive with people. Numbers and numbers of foreigners, and yet not a disturbance nor a disorder of any kind. We regret, for their own sakes, that so few Princes have come, here again dividing themselves from their people. Deeply will they repent it when it is too late. 61,000 people were in the Exhibition on the 15th at once.

'The Cattle Show at Windsor was a very fine sight. The Prince's speech and dinner of between two and three thousand people went off very well yesterday. He stands so high; all the people *feel* he wishes them well, and thinks of them; and, depend upon it, this will never be forgotten.

'The immense number of manufacturers with whom we have spoken have gone away delighted. The thousands who are in the Crystal Palace, when we are leaving, are all so loyal, and so gratified, many never having seen us before.

All this will be of a use not to be described. It identifies us with the people, and gives them an additional cause for loyalty and attachment.'

From Osborne the Prince writes to Baron Stockmar the next day:

'We made our pilgrimage hither yesterday with bag and baggage. The last days of packing were very fatiguing. There was such an accumulation of papers during the late stirring season that their arrangement cost a world of trouble. Added to which I had my dinner with the Agricultural Society on the 17th, which lasted four hours and a half, and at which over 3,000 guests were present. My speech went off well, and has been well received.

'The resort to the Exhibition continues to be enormous; the day before yesterday the number of visitors again amounted to 74,000. Next week the Juries will have completed their work. Paris intends to give to us gentlemen of the Exhibition a three days' fête, and to invite me to it. I will send an excuse.'

The President of the French Republic, as we have seen, had from the first given his cordial support to the project of the International Exhibition. It accorded with his own settled policy of cultivating the most intimate political and commercial relations with England, and he spared no pains to secure its being regarded with cordial interest by the leading manufacturers of France. They entered warmly into his views, and much of the attractiveness, if not of the success, of the Exhibition, was due to the wealth and beauty of their contributions. If some leading Frenchmen felt that France, in her claim to be the pioneer of civilisation, should have been the first to project the idea of a great International Exhibition, it is no less true that the people generally did not

allow any narrow jealousy to chill their efforts to prove themselves noble competitors in this magnificent arena. In all ways they gained by this generosity of spirit. England was quick to acknowledge the superiority of French artistic feeling and skill in many departments where she had herself much to learn. Nor was France slow to pay a similar tribute to English ingenuity and English workmanship, where these outstripped her own. Great commercial advantages were the immediate results on both sides. At the same time a friendliness of intercourse, not unimportant to the peace and prosperity of both countries, grew up out of the personal knowledge and the exchange of courtesies for which the Exhibition gave occasion. Each country thenceforth knew the other better, and much of the old lingering jealousy of one another began to disappear.

The French felt that they had been well treated in all the arrangements for the Exhibition, and they were not likely to be behindhand in showing courtesy to those by whom their co-operation had been received with so generous a welcome. Accordingly, an invitation was conveyed from the city of Paris to the Exhibition Commissioners by M. Sallandrouze, the manufacturer of the celebrated Aubusson carpets and tapestries, and one of the leading French Commissioners, to go to Paris on the 2nd of August, to dine and hear a concert at the Hôtel de Ville on the 3rd, and to see the great waters play at Versailles on the following day. This was to be followed by a fête given by the President at St. Cloud, the festivities closing with a great ball at the Hôtel de Ville. The invitation, conveyed by M. Sallandrouze in person through Lord Granville, was coupled with the expression of the strong desire felt by the city of Paris that the fête should be graced by the presence of the Prince, for whose character and acquirements they felt the highest admiration. In this desire the President shared, and he had

requested M. Sallandrouze to say that, while the Prince's acceptance would please the people of France, it would give the greatest satisfaction to himself to have the honour of receiving him at the Elysée.

The Prince, who had again and again refused to attend any festivities in celebration of the success of the Exhibition, making only one exception in the case of the City Ball, felt that he must adhere to the rule that he had laid down. His health, too, needed the repose, of which so elaborate a programme would have deprived him, even had it not been impossible for him to spare the necessary time from his other duties. He was therefore compelled to decline with regret the compliment to himself, flattering as it was, and which, his answer stated, he felt to be all the more gratifying because of the very distinguished position which the French people had taken in the Exhibition. The French fully appreciated a refusal conveyed in language of conspicuous courtesy; and the fête passed off with brilliant success. At the banquet at the Hôtel de Ville, England was admirably represented by Lord Granville. He charmed his hosts by responding for the Commissioners, whose health formed the toast of the day, in a French speech, free and flowing, and full of telling points. Criticism was forgotten in enthusiasm, and had he been Demosthenes himself speaking with the purest French accent, he could not have commanded more genuine applause.

In the following letter to Baron Stockmar, the Prince confirms what he had formerly said about excusing himself from the Paris fête, which, for reasons of health alone, the Baron, he knew, would have wished him to avoid:

'On the 7th we go to town for the closing of Parliament on the 8th. At last the Papal Bill has gone through the Upper House. The opposition of Aberdeen and his friends

was very great down to the last; nevertheless the majority for the Bill was 265 to 38.

'The question whether the Crystal Palace shall be demolished or upheld is still vehemently agitated. I think it will end in its being removed.

'The whole Royal Commission, with Executive Committee, Jurors, &c., are invited to a grand three days' fête at Paris, balls, concerts, reviews, fireworks, &c. The City pays even for their journey to Paris and back. I have excused myself. Lord Cowley is here.

'I have availed myself of the opportunity of our stay here to arrange my numerous papers, have read a pamphlet by Gladstone on Italy, which I recommend to your notice, and have sent for you by Fischer.[3] I am now reading Radowitz's new *Gespräche aus der Gegenwart*, which I like much for its just portrayal of the distinctive shades of parties and their views. What he is driving at, however, I cannot tell. I have also read a treatise by Owen on Parthenogenesis, and am going to begin upon Mirabeau's *Letters*.

'Osborne, 1st August, 1851.'

On the 7th of August, as mentioned in this letter, the Queen and Prince returned to town for the prorogation of Parliament, which took place next day. On this and the next day they saw the Exhibition for the last time, and then returned to the country, where the Prince was for the next few days much occupied in considering what was to be done with the surplus receipts, which by this time had run up to no less a sum than 170,000*l.* A desire, too, had become general, that the building should be retained as a Winter Garden. Some of those who had most strenuously opposed its erection, were now the warmest in opposition to

[3] This was Mr. Gladstone's *Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government.* London: 1857.

its removal. Part of the surplus, it was suggested, might be applied to the purchase of the building. But this was an application of it which was not sanctioned by the Commissioners' Charter; neither was the Prince inclined to encourage the disposal to objects of mere recreation and amusement of a fund, which he thought might be applied to purposes of wider and more lasting importance.

The Queen, who every day found fresh reason to admire his energy and breadth of views, finds an outlet for the feelings which these inspired in writing to Baron Stockmar, in whose heart she knew her words would find an echo:

'Osborne, 17th August, 1851.

'. . . The dearest Prince is, as usual, full of occupation, and is now much engrossed by the disposal of the surplus remaining after all the expenses of the Exhibition have been paid. I assure you that I must always stand amazed at his wonderful mind. Such large views of everything, and such extreme lucidity in working all these views out. He is very, very great. . . . His greatness is wonderfully combined with abnegation of self, with humility, with great courage—with such kindness, too, and goodness, and such a love for his fellow-creatures. And then there is always such a desire to do everything without *shining* himself. But he does shine, and every word which falls from his lips is listened to with attention.

'The Duchess of Sutherland said to me the other day with tears in her eyes, after he had been speaking to her about the cruelty, folly, and wickedness of the Neapolitan government, that it was such a delight to hear him speak, for in all he said there was "such wisdom and such goodness." . . .'

Living as he did in the Palace through the busy winter and spring of 1851, Baron Stockmar could not fail to see,

that no constitution could endure a repetition of the wear and tear of body and brain, which the arrangements for the Great Exhibition, in addition to the normal labours of his position, had caused to the Prince. Accordingly, he had urged him to avoid entering upon any new enterprise which should involve an undue strain upon his energies. The Prince, therefore, appears, from the following letter, to have thought some apology due to his friend for taking an active part in dealing with the question of how the surplus from the Exhibition should be applied:

'I promised you, no doubt, not to embark in anything new after the close of the Exhibition, and I have, moreover, made up my mind to retreat into my shell as quickly as possible; but I am not free to choose as regards the considerable surplus with which we shall wind up. For its application I have devised a plan, of which I send you a copy herewith as first drafted.

'I have since conferred with Cole, Dilke, Lyon Playfair, Reid, Northcote, &c. &c., and find that my plan comprises what each of them would *individually* have proposed. Naturally, each lays special stress upon his own particular department. The men of science want a School of Manufactures, like that of Paris, and endowed Professorships. I have somewhat modified the plan, and will submit it to the Commission to-morrow. You may meanwhile rest assured that I will not commit myself until I see my way with certainty to carry out my project successfully. . . .

'Osborne, 18th August, 1851.'

The plan here referred to subsequently underwent considerable modifications; but it shows so well, how comprehensive the views of the Prince were, and how purely they aimed at great objects of public benefit, that it seems desirable it should be preserved as a permanent record of the motives

which guided him in urging the Commissioners to acquire their South Kensington estate. It will accordingly be found in the Appendix to this volume.

On the 27th of August the Court left Osborne for Scotland, and reached Balmoral on the 29th. The next day brought news of the death of Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, the immediately younger brother of the Prince's father. In 1816 he married Antoinette, daughter and sole heiress of Joseph, Prince Kohary, one of the largest landed proprietors in Hungary. His first son Ferdinand married Dona Maria, Queen of Portugal; his second married Clémentine, daughter of Louis Philippe, and has succeeded to the Kohary estates; his third was the supposed aspirant to the hand of Queen Isabella of Spain, whose candidature roused the apprehensions of Louis Philippe and M. Guizot; and his only daughter, Victoire, married the Duke de Nemours. The reader of the *Heautontimorumenos* will understand the allusion to the 'self-torturing' character made by the Prince in speaking of him in the following letter to Baron Stockmar:

'Since I last wrote to you our family has been diminished by a head—the head of one of the branches of the house. You too will have been grieved by the death of good Uncle Ferdinand. He was, ever since I have known him, Terence's "homo seipsum crucians," but at the same time with very warm feelings for his kindred, and towards myself he was especially kind and father-like. I shall always cherish his memory with a grateful heart. . . .

'I have read Cousin's *Introduction Politique*, and am greatly pleased with his sketch of the state of France under the government of Louis Philippe, and of the advantages of constitutional over absolute monarchy, and also over republican government. Nevertheless he rates too low the mental qualities which belong to a constitutional sovereign.

In truth the greatest strength of mind is necessary for self-abnegation and for self-control, and these are much more essential to a constitutional than to an absolute monarch. What I do not like, however, is Cousin's philosophical and historical basis. Historically it is false, and nothing but French vanity can account for his ascribing all freedom, and especially the form of constitutional government, to the French Revolution. He holds up France as the country which in this respect has civilised the whole world, and says nothing about England, although the truth is, that France borrowed the form from us, and to this hour has not understood it.

'Philosophically the French view developed by Cousin is quite untenable, and is in the conclusions deduced from it practically most injurious to the maintenance of a permanent social bond. It assumes freedom as being without limitation and as an inherent condition of existence (*unumschränkt und ursprünglich*), and to be limited only by the general assent of the sovereign people, while the very reverse is the fact. Freedom is an *idea*, which can only be realised in a *State* which sets up laws, modelled upon the divine laws of morality in the place of arbitrary caprice, and establishes a physical force to uphold those laws and carry them into practice. It is only in this way that freedom is able to pass into a condition in which it may exist without limitation, and where nothing *but itself* can impose limits upon it.

'The final aim of all legislation, statesmanship, and popular education, must be to make freedom as broad as it can be made without perilling its own existence. Its limits must therefore be more tightly drawn, the ruder the conditions of life, and the ruder the people, while, the more cultivated these are, so much the wider will be its limits. There lies, too, within it a self-adjusting power, which may be traced in history. The chief care of the politician ought to be, that

this self-adjustment may go on without friction, or possibly explosion.

'A pretty realisation of my theory has just been given in Vienna by the Emperor's last decree. By that Absolutism is now formally proclaimed, and the Ministers are set above all responsibility! You and I would have little pleasure in making ourselves responsible for all that Schwarzenberg has done or may yet do.

'Balmoral, 5th September, 1851.'

The Government of Austria had in truth abandoned all the promises, made by the Emperor and his advisers during the revolutionary storm of 1848, to adopt the forms of a representative Constitution. By letters, dated the 20th of August, addressed to Prince Schwarzenberg, as Minister President, and to Baron Kübeck, President of the Reichsrath, the Emperor had declared that henceforth his Ministers should be responsible solely to the Crown, as the centre of all authority,—that for the future the Reichsrath was to be considered, not as the Council of the Empire, but as the Council of the Throne,—and that measures of administration or legislation were consequently to be no longer presented by the Cabinet to the Reichsrath for its opinion, but always to the Emperor. All this was wholly inconsistent with the Constitution of March, 1849, and accordingly, in a separate letter of the same date to Prince Schwarzenberg, the Emperor stated, that the question of the possibility of maintaining and carrying out this Constitution would have to be taken into ripe and serious consideration. This was the proceeding which provoked the sarcasm of the Prince at the close of the letter just quoted.

To Stockmar, who had never believed that the Austrian Government would fulfil the pledges of constitutional reform, these Imperial rescripts probably occasioned no

surprise. The more reactionary it showed itself, the better hope for the ultimate severance from the rest of Germany, on which his hopes were set. Not that he looked for their being speedily realised, or that any peaceful solution of that problem was at all likely. On the 25th of September he writes:

'No peaceful, reasonable settlement of our internal relations will ever be arrived at. The knot will, in the long run, have to be cut by force. The inhabitants of the small States have outlived their attachment to their dynasties, and become fully alive to the pitiful figure they cut in a political sense. The contempt and scorn of foreign countries, and of their own rulers, which has for years been their lot, is certain to make them more and more dejected and savage, and this is a state of things which may drive the general discontent to a very high pitch. Then what has so often happened may happen again, intolerable misery will beget the man and the deed.'—(*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 636.)

The Court remained till the 7th of October at Balmoral, where the Prince allowed himself some of the rest which he so much needed. He threw himself ardently into the sport of deer-stalking, and won the admiration of the Highlanders by his great energy and endurance. The stoutest of them were no more than a match for him in a long stretch on foot over hill and heather. Hallam, the historian, and Baron Liebig were among the visitors this autumn at Balmoral, and we learn from a memorandum of Sir James Clark's, whose guest they both were at Birkhall for several days, that they were delighted with the simplicity of the Court, and gratified by the attention shown to them by the Queen and Prince.

It had been arranged that Her Majesty and the Prince, on their way back to Windsor Castle, should visit Liverpool and Manchester. Early on the morning of the 8th, they left Edinburgh, where they had rested for the night, and reached

Lancaster by one. This being the capital of the county palatine of Lancashire, the Royal visitors alighted from the railway and drove to the Castle, where the Queen was presented at John of Gaunt's gateway with the keys. Here two addresses were presented, which the Queen in her diary notes as being 'very prettily worded,' and very gratifying, from the admiration and respect expressed in them for the Prince. The fine view from the top of the tower towards the Westmoreland hills on the one side, and on the other over a broad expanse of country towards the sea, was then enjoyed, and the Royal visitors returned to the railway through most loyal crowds, who all, it is noted, 'wore either a red rose, or a red rosette, as emblems of the House of Lancaster.'

Again alighting from the railway at Prescot, where the Queen and Prince were received by the Earl of Sefton, whose guests they were to be for the night, the Royal party drove through Knowsley Park, 'which is very fine,' says the same record, 'and reminded us of Windsor,' to Croxteth, the seat of the Earl of Sefton. Those only who know what Liverpool and the Mersey are on a wet misty day in autumn, can thoroughly understand with what dismay the crowds, who assembled to greet their Sovereign next day, found that 'the Queen's weather' had not followed Her Majesty to the shores of the Mersey. We quote from the Royal diary:—

'Thursday, 9th October.

'To our despair, a wet morning, and hopelessly so! At ten o'clock we started in close carriages, Vicky and Bertie with us, the two others in the next carriages. It poured; the roads were a sea of mud, and yet the whole way along was lined with people, and all so wet! The atmosphere was so thick, that we could see a very little way before us. Still, the reception was most enthusiastic. The preparations were beautiful. Liverpool is three miles from Croxteth, but there

are houses almost the whole way. . . . I cannot attempt to describe the route or detail the fine buildings. The streets were densely crowded, in spite of the horrible weather, everything extremely well arranged and beautifully decorated, but the poor people so wet and so dirty! We were obliged to spread Albert's large cloak over us to protect us from the rain and the splashing of the mud.

'We drove along part of the Docks, and got out at the place of embarkation, which was covered over; there we went on board the *Fairy*, with our whole party, the Mayor, and gentlemen connected with the Docks and Harbour, and went along all the Docks, which are magnificent. The mass of shipping is quite enormous. We went round the mouth of the Mersey, but could hardly make out anything that was at any distance, and we had all to remain in the Pavilion. We disembarked at the same place, and proceeded to the Town Hall. I must mention here the Seamen's Refuge—a magnificent stone building, of which Albert laid the first stone five years ago.' (See *ante*, vol. i. p. 336.) 'The Town Hall is a very handsome building, beautifully decorated inside, and with fine large rooms. We proceeded to the Council Room, where we stood on a throne and received the addresses of the Mayor and Corporation, to which I read an answer, and then knighted the Mayor, Mr. Bent, a very good man. . . .

'We remained nearly half-an-hour afterwards in the Town Hall, as there was too much time,—a rare occurrence. At a little before four we re-entered our carriages, and drove to St. George's Hall, one of the finest of modern buildings. It is worthy of ancient Athens; the elevation is so simple and magnificent. It is well raised, and approached by a splendid flight of steps. We got out here and examined the interior, which is quite unfinished, but will be very fine,—the taste so good and pure. . . . The Law Courts are to be held here,

and in the centre is the magnificent Hall, intended for concerts. . . . Albert, who is always so ready to admire whatever is simple and grand, was delighted. He never really admires what is small in purpose and design, what is frittered away in detail, and not chaste and simple. . . . We stepped out in order to gratify the great multitude below. We also appeared on the balcony at the Town Hall.'

From Liverpool the Royal party proceeded by railway to Patricroft, where they alighted and were received by Lady Ellesmere, her second son, and two daughters, the Duke of Wellington, Lord and Lady Westminster, and Lord and Lady Wilton.—'We walked,' again to quote Her Majesty's diary, 'through a covered and very prettily ornamented corridor to the boat, which was waiting on the (Bridgwater) Canal. It was a very elegant barge, to which a rope was fastened, drawn by four horses. Ourselves, the ladies, Lady Ellesmere, Lady Brackley and her little boy, the old Duke, and Captain Egerton (the second son), came into it with us. Half was entirely covered in, the other half had an awning over it. The boat glided along in a most noiseless and dream-like manner, amidst the cheers of the people who lined the sides of the Canal, and passed under the beautifully decorated bridges belonging to the villages connected with the vast coal-pits belonging to Lord Ellesmere. In half-an-hour we were at the landing-place in Worsley Park, and in five minutes at the hall-door, where Lord Ellesmere, who is lame with the gout, and walked with a stick, and Lord Brackley, who is terribly delicate, received us. The evening was so wet and thick, that one could see nothing beyond the windows. It is an Elizabethan house, finished only five years ago, very handsome and comfortable.'

The evening was enlivened by the presence of Mr. Nasmyth, the inventor of the Steam Hammer, who had extensive

works at Patricroft. He exhibited and explained the maps in which he had embodied the results of his investigations of the conformation and atmosphere of the Moon. The Queen, in her diary, dwells at considerable length on the results of Mr. Nasmyth's inquiries. The charm of his manner, in which the simplicity, modesty, and enthusiasm of genius are all strikingly combined, are warmly dwelt upon. Mr. Nasmyth belongs to a family of painters, and would have won fame himself as an artist,—for his landscapes are as true to nature as his compositions are full of fancy and feeling,—had not science and mechanical invention claimed him for their own. His drawings were also submitted on this occasion, and their beauty was generally admired. The same evening brought the news of the successful laying of the first Submarine Telegraph,—that between Dover and Calais.

During the night, the Prince had one of those attacks to which his natural weakness of stomach made him liable, and the tendency to which had been much increased by the denial to himself of a due proportion of rest to body and brain. We resume the extracts from the Queen's diary:

'Friday, 10th October.

'From one o'clock in the morning Albert was very unwell,—very sick and wretched, and I was terrified for our Manchester visit. Thank God! by eight o'clock he felt much better, and was able to get up. . . . At ten we started for Manchester. The day was fine and mild, and everything to a wish. Manchester is called seven miles from Worsley, but I cannot think it is so much. We first came to Pendleton, where, as everywhere else, there are factories, and great preparations were made. School-children were there in profusion. We next came to Salford, where the crowd became very dense. It joins Manchester, and is to it, in fact, as Westminster to London. The yeomanry which

escorted us, and which is a very fine regiment, was relieved by a regiment of Lancers,—Lord Cathcart and his staff riding near the carriage.

'The mechanics and work-people, dressed in their best, were ranged along the streets, with white rosettes in their button-holes; both in Salford and Manchester, a very intelligent, but painfully unhealthy-looking population they all were, men as well as women.[4] We went into Peel Park, before leaving Salford—the Mayor having got out and received us at the entrance—where was indeed a most extraordinary and I suppose totally unprecedented sight—82,000 school-children, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Catholics (these children having a small crucifix suspended round their necks), Baptists, and Jews, whose faces told their descent; with their teachers. In the middle of the park was erected a pavilion, under which we drove (but did not get out), and where the Address was read. All the children sang "God Save the Queen" extremely well together, the director being placed on a very high stand, from which he could command the whole Park.

'We passed out at the same gate we went in by, and through the principal street of Salford, on to Manchester, at the entrance of which was a magnificent arch. The Mayor, Mr. Potter, who went through the proceedings with great composure and self-possession, beautifully dressed (the Mayor and Corporation had till now been too Radical to have robes) received us there, and presented me with a beautiful bouquet. We drove through the principal streets, in which there are no very fine buildings[5]—the principal large houses being warehouses—and stopped at the Exchange, where we got out and received the Address again on a throne, to which I

[4] 'I was struck,' Sir James Clark, who was there, notes the same day, 'with the small stature of the manufacturing people, particularly the women, who were generally pale, but with a remarkably intelligent expression.'

[5] This is no longer true, Manchester is now unusually rich in fine buildings.

read an answer. The streets were immensely full, and the cheering and enthusiasm most gratifying. The order and good behaviour of the people, who were not placed behind any barriers, were the most complete we have seen in our many progresses through capitals and cities—London, Glasgow, Dublin, Edinburgh, &c., for there never was a running crowd. Nobody moved, and therefore everybody saw well, and there was no squeezing. . . . We returned as we came, the sun shining brightly, and were at Worsley by two. . . .

'Saturday, 11th October.

'This day is full of sad recollections, being the anniversary of the loss of my beloved Louise [Queen of the Belgians], that kind, precious friend, that angelic being, whose loss I shall ever feel. Albert left me at half-past seven to visit Mr. Bazley's factory at the Dean Mills near Bolton.'

This visit was peculiarly interesting to the Prince, for Mr. Bazley's firm had done great things towards improving the condition of their workpeople. He was much pleased by the spirit in which the establishment seemed to be conducted. The machinery and work-rooms were in excellent order. The cottages were comfortable. There were excellent schools and a large public room for lectures and evening meetings. The workmen had established a co-operative store, and managed it themselves. All this was working in the direction which the Prince himself had often pointed out.

He returned to Worsley by ten o'clock. 'We started,' the Queen's diary continues, 'at eleven, every one going with us,—entered the barge, and were towed up the canal to Patricroft as the other evening, only this time in beautiful, but too mild weather. The Mayor' (now Sir John Potter, he having been knighted after presenting the Manchester Address) 'told me last night, that he thinks we saw a million of people between Manchester and Salford. There are 400,000 in-

habitants in Manchester, and every one says, that in no other town could one depend so entirely upon the quiet and orderly behaviour of the people as in Manchester. You had only to tell them what ought to be done, and it was sure to be carried out. We took leave of the Ellesmeres and party at the station, and steamed off.

'It was a very pleasant and interesting visit. We went through Manchester, and had an opportunity of seeing the extraordinary number of warehouses and manufactories it contains, and how large it is. We came next to Stockport, then Crewe, Stafford (where Lord Anglesey was), Rugby, Weedon, Wolverton, and lastly Watford, which we reached at five. Lord Grey took leave of us here, and we got into our carriages and posted to Windsor. The evening was soft and beautiful, without any autumnal feel;—the day had been very hot, particularly in the railway. Everywhere our reception had been most kind. We changed horses at Uxbridge, and soon after shut the carriage;—a fine moonlight night. We arrived at Windsor at half-past seven, and found the three little children at the door, well and pleased.'

Three days afterwards the Prince writes to Baron Stockmar:

'After a most brilliant and enthusiastic reception in Lancashire, Lancaster, Manchester, Liverpool, Salford, Bolton, &c., we arrived here on the 11th, where my hands are more than full. Yesterday we had a meeting of the Commission in town to regulate the "winding-up affair," and in the afternoon I distributed the prizes of the Windsor Labourers' Friends' Association. To-day we go again to town, that Victoria may pay a final visit to the Exhibition. To-morrow it will be closed to the public in form by the reception of the Jurors' Report, and an address from myself to the Jurors, Commissioners (foreign and local), and Exhibitors. The total sum received from all sources is 500,000*l.*; the number of

visitors to the building has run up to 6,200,000! Not an accident.

'We ought indeed to be thankful to God for such a success.

'Windsor Castle, 14th October, 1851.'

The same day the final visit was paid by the Queen to the Exhibition. 'It looked so beautiful,' says the record so often quoted, 'I could not believe it was the last time I was to see it. . . . An organ, accompanied by a fine and powerful wind instrument, called the Sommerophone,[6] was being played, and it nearly upset me. . . . The canvas is very dirty, the red curtains are faded, and many things are very much soiled, still the effect is fresh and new as ever, and most beautiful . . . . The glass fountain was already removed, in order to make room for the platform for the closing ceremony of to-morrow, and the Sappers and Miners were rolling about the little boxes just as they did at the beginning. It made us all very melancholy . . . . The old Cornish woman [Mary Kerlynack], who walked up several hundred miles to see the Exhibition, was at the door to see me;—a most hale old woman, who was near crying at my looking at her.'

The next day the diary continues—'A very wet day, appropriate to the really mournful ceremony of the closing of the Exhibition. At ten Albert started for this ceremony, which was not to be in state. I grieved not to witness its close, and yet I think Albert was right, that I could hardly have been there as a spectator. At two Albert came back All had gone off well, every one seemed pleased, the crowd immense, he thinks forty or fifty thousand people, all closely packed . . . . How sad and strange to think this great and bright time has passed away like a dream after all its triumph

[6] A brass instrument of great size, with a compass of four octaves, named after its inventor, F. Sommer, of Jauer, in Silesia, who himself performed upon it. Has any one been found with sufficient strength of lungs to do so since?

and success,—and that all the labour and anxiety, which it caused for nearly two years, should now likewise only be remembered with the things that are past! I feel as if it were doing my dearest Albert an injury, that it should be gone by, and yet it has effected its purpose a thousandfold.'

The following correspondence between the Queen and Lord John Russell may fitly close our record of the Great Exhibition:

'Downing Street, 17th October, 1851.

'Lord John Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty. As he has had no commands to the contrary, he will summon the Council for one o'clock on the 23rd at Windsor Castle.

'He purposes to desire Mr. Cubitt, Mr. Paxton, and Mr. Fox to be in attendance to be knighted. It is desirable this should be done on a day of ceremony, as marking the importance of the occasion.

'The sad solemnity of the closing of the Exhibition was as successful as it was possible to be.

'In taking leave of it, there is one result which must be peculiarly gratifying to your Majesty. The grandeur of the conception, the zeal, invention, and talent displayed in the execution, and the perfect order maintained from the first day to the last, have contributed together to give imperishable fame to Prince Albert. If to others much praise is due for their several parts in this work, it is to his energy and judgment that the world owe both the original design and the harmonious and rapid execution. Whatever may be done hereafter, no one can deprive the Prince of the glory of being the first to conceive and to carry into effect this beneficent design, nor will the Monarchy fail to participate in the advantage to be derived from this undertaking. No Republic of the Old or New world has done anything so splendid or so useful.'

'Windsor Castle, 17th October, 1851.

'The Queen has received Lord John Russell's letter of this day. We are both much pleased and touched at Lord John's kind and gratifying expressions relative to the success of the Great Exhibition, the closing of which we must much regret, as, indeed, all seem to do. Lord John is right in supposing it is particularly gratifying to *her*, to see her beloved husband's name stand for ever immortalised by the conception of the greatest triumph of Peace which the world has ever produced, and by the energy and perseverance with which he helped to carry it out.[7] To feel this and to see this so universally acknowledged by a country, which we both daily feel more attached to and more proud of, is indeed a source of immense happiness and gratitude to the Queen. She feels grateful to Providence to have permitted her to be united to so great, so noble, so excellent a Prince, and this year will ever remain the happiest and proudest of her life. The day of the closing of the Exhibition (which the Queen regretted much she could not witness) was the twelfth anniversary of her betrothal to the Prince, which is a curious coincidence.'

[7] In a letter, dated 15th May, 1851, from the Chevalier Bunsen to Max Müller (*Bunsen's Life*, ii. p. 269), he says, 'The Exhibition is and will remain the most poetical event of our time, and one deserving a place in the world's history. *Les Anglais ont fait de la poésie sans s'en douter*, as M. Jourdain was found to have made prose.'

CHAPTER XLIV.

The arrival of Kossuth in England towards the end of October was the signal for one of those outbreaks of enthusiasm, in which the popular admiration for some hero of the hour runs into extravagance, but at the same time generally exhausts itself. Incidentally it had an important bearing upon the retirement of Lord Palmerston from the Ministry in the ensuing December, which brings it within the scope of the present narrative.

Since the imperious demands of Russia and Austria for the surrender of the Hungarian leader by Turkey had been withdrawn (see *ante*, p. 241), he had lived in honourable captivity at Kutayah. Under a subsequent arrangement he was free to leave the country, and having selected America as his future abode, the Government of the United States placed a steam frigate at his disposal to convey him to New York. Calling at Marseilles on the way, he had applied to the French authorities for leave to pass through France, but his request had been refused by the Government, upon which he published an Address to 'the Democrats of Marseilles,' couched in terms that more than justified the refusal. From Marseilles he went to Gibraltar, where he embarked in the English mail-packet, and reached Southampton on the 23rd of October.

Here began a series of popular demonstrations, which were continued until he sailed for America early in November. The cause of Hungarian independence had always commanded warm and wide sympathy in England, and the

policy of Austria since the final defeat of Kossuth and his friends had not been such as to mitigate the feelings of animosity with which she was regarded by the Liberal party throughout Europe. In welcoming Kossuth as they did, the English Liberals found an opportunity ready to their hands of protesting against the policy of reaction, of which the fruits were now everywhere conspicuous on the Continent. But the excitement of the crowds who thronged to see and hear him was carried to its height by the irresistible charm of 'his strange power of speech,' which poured forth for hours together in purest English—English studied out of Shakspeare—a flood of passionate eloquence, not always to be resisted even by those who had little sympathy either with the man or the object to which his speeches in England were directed. That object was to engage England to adopt and enforce the doctrine, that no Government has the right to interfere in the intestine dissensions of a foreign State, and that, if any Government does so interfere, other Governments have a right to combine to prevent its intervention. The application of these principles was obvious; and, if applied, they meant war with Austria and Russia.

So long as the demonstrations in support of Kossuth were confined to Town Councils and public meetings, no harm was done.[1] For what was said or done there the Government was not responsible. They could not be pledged by it to doctrines, which would have condemned their own action in the past, and might have hampered them fatally in the future.[2] However distasteful to the governments of Russia

[1] The Americans, who even outdid the English in the ardour of their enthusiasm, while Kossuth's oratory was addressed to their public meetings, felt this, and drew back the moment they saw where he wished to lead them. Active intervention against Austria was a step they were no more prepared to countenance than ourselves. The reception given to him, accordingly, by Congress, was more than cold, and the brilliant orator's hopes of material aid from the great American Republic were doomed to disappointment.

[2] For example, had England not so lately as in 1840, under Lord Palmerston's

and Austria the language used might be, they could not complain of the free expression of what at the best were only individual opinions. But any step, which would have implied the sanction of the Government to the crusade on which Kossuth had entered, could not fail to make more difficult the relations, already sufficiently strained, between ourselves and the courts of Russia and Austria.

That Kossuth, on coming to England, should desire to thank our Government in person for the efforts they had made on his behalf, was most natural, and no possible exception could have been taken to his being received for this purpose by the Foreign Secretary, had not Kossuth taken advantage of his popularity in England to engage in a fierce political agitation. After the violent language of his public speeches at Southampton and elsewhere, in which two Sovereigns, with whom we were on terms of peace and amity were denounced in most opprobrious terms, it was obvious that any official reception would be construed into an approval of his language and doctrines. Such, at least, was the view taken by the head of the Ministry. It could not, he conceived, be right that any member of the Administration should give an implied sanction to an agitation by a foreign refugee against Sovereigns in alliance with Her Majesty, and accordingly he wrote to Lord Palmerston to request that the reception, which was known to be contemplated, might not take place. This request was refused. Already rumours were afloat, that if Kossuth were to be received, the Austrian Minister had been directed to take his leave; and the question was looked upon by the Prime

guidance, interfered between Mehemet Ali and the Porte, wresting from the grasp of the rebellious feudatory that Syria which the Sultan himself was unable to reclaim, and compelling him to recognise the supremacy of the Sultan even in Egypt? We should have followed the same course in 1851 had the necessity arisen. With what consistency, then, could we refuse to Russia the right we claimed for ourselves?

Minister as of so much gravity, that a Cabinet Council was summoned to consider it. They met on the 3rd of November, and Lord Palmerston, reluctantly deferring to the generally expressed opinion of his colleagues, intimated that he would avoid any interview with Kossuth.

Kossuth left England, but his admirers—determined apparently to obtain some compensation for the disappointment of their hero at not being allowed an official reception—got up addresses to Lord Palmerston of thanks for what he had done towards securing the personal safety and ultimate liberation of 'the illustrious patriot and exile.' In these addresses, which were voted at meetings of extreme Radicals in Finsbury and Islington, the Emperors of Austria and of Russia were spoken of as 'odious and detestable assassins' and 'merciless tyrants and despots;' and no common surprise was excited both at home and abroad, when it was known that Lord Palmerston had allowed them to be presented to himself at the Foreign Office and had expressed himself 'extremely flattered and highly gratified' by the expression of opinion they contained as respected himself. He added, no doubt, that 'it could not be expected that he should concur in some of the expressions which had been used in the addresses;' but it was a startling novelty in the usages of political life, that a Foreign Minister should suffer such expressions to be applied in his presence to Sovereigns with whom the country he represented professed to be on terms of amity. There were other things in Lord Palmerston's speech on the occasion, which committed the Government to opinions of a very embarrassing kind. Lord Palmerston, it is true, denied that his language had been accurately reported, but it had by this time found its way all over Europe, and was believed to have been spoken with the sanction of the Crown and of the Government: a belief not easy to shake, in the face of the indisputable fact, that

the addresses had been received by the Foreign Minister at Downing Street in his official capacity.

To receive such addresses at all, or at all events to do so without in emphatic terms condemning the language in which they were couched, was to abuse the freedom of action which must within certain limits be allowed to every Minister. The act involved more than a mere question of good taste or of reasonable discretion. If it did not compromise the Government, it in any case placed the Sovereign in a most painful position towards her allies, who would find it difficult to understand that her Minister had acted without her knowledge, or contrary to her wish. It was no satisfaction to Her Majesty to be told by the apologists for her Minister, in answer to her remonstrances, that, although somewhat of the good opinion of the Emperor of Austria and other foreign Sovereigns might be lost by his wilfulness and want of official reserve, still the good will and affection of her own people were retained. To this Her Majesty could reply with unanswerable force: 'It is no question with the Queen, whether she pleases the Emperor of Austria or not, but whether she gives him a just ground of complaint or not. And if she does so, she can never believe that this will add to her popularity with her own people.'[3] To pass over the matter in silence was felt by Her Majesty to be impossible, and it was brought, by her request, under the consideration of the Cabinet on the 4th of December. No formal resolution was come to on the subject; but, impressed as every member of the Cabinet could not fail to be with the necessity of guarding the honour of the Crown, and maintaining the dignity of Her Majesty's position towards foreign countries, a strong expression of opinion was elicited as to the want of caution shown by Lord Palmerston in receiving the obnoxious addresses. In communicating

[3] Letter by the Queen to Lord John Russell, 21st November, 1851.

this result to Her Majesty, Lord John Russell added a hope, that 'it will have its effect upon Lord Palmerston, to whom Lord John Russell has written, urging the necessity of a guarded conduct, in the present very critical condition of Europe.'

On the morning of the day on which this letter was written (4th of December), tidings of the *coup-d'état* at Paris on the 2nd reached Her Majesty at Osborne. Immediately Her Majesty wrote to Lord John Russell: 'The Queen has learned with surprise and concern the events which have taken place at Paris. She thinks it of great importance that Lord Normanby' (then our Ambassador at Paris) 'should be instructed to remain entirely passive, and should take no part whatever in what is passing. Any word from him might be misconstrued at such a moment.' This letter was in Lord John Russell's hands the same afternoon, and in his reply, which is dated from Downing Street at six P.M. the same day, he says: 'Your Majesty's directions respecting the state of affairs in Paris shall be followed. Lord Normanby has asked, whether he should suspend his diplomatic functions; but the Cabinet were unanimously of opinion that he should not do so. The result is very uncertain; at present the power is likely to rest with the army, to whose memory of victories and defeats the President has so strongly appealed.'

Next day Lord Palmerston wrote to Lord Normanby as follows:

'Foreign Office, 5th December, 1851.

'My Lord,—I have received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch, No. 365, of the 3rd inst., requesting to be furnished with instructions for your guidance in the present state of affairs in France. I am commanded by Her Majesty to instruct your Excellency to make no change in your relations with the French Government. It

is Her Majesty's desire that nothing should be done by Her Ambassador at Paris, which could wear the appearance of an interference of any kind in the internal affairs of France.'

Here, so far as Her Majesty was concerned, the matter rested, until in the usual course of business she received from the Foreign Office the copy of a despatch from Lord Normanby to Lord Palmerston, dated 6th December, in reply to the despatch just quoted. In this Lord Normanby mentioned that he had called on M. Turgot, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and informed him that he had received Her Majesty's commands to say that he need make no change in his relations with the French Government in consequence of what had passed. He then goes on to say, 'I added that, if there had been delay in making this communication, it arose from material circumstances not connected with any doubt on the subject. Monsieur Turgot said that delay had been of less importance, as he had two days since heard from M. Walewski that your lordship had expressed to him your entire approbation of the act of the President, and the conviction that he could not have acted otherwise than he had done.'

Startled by a statement so inconsistent with the resolution of the Cabinet, Her Majesty wrote to Lord John Russell :—

'Osborne, 13th December, 1851.

'The Queen sends the enclosed despatch from Lord Normanby to Lord John Russell, from which it appears that the French Government *pretend* to have received the entire approval of the late *coup-d'état* by the British Government as conveyed by Lord Palmerston to Count Walewski. The Queen cannot believe in the truth of the assertion, as such an approval given by Lord Palmerston would have been *in complete contradiction* to the line of strict neutrality and

passiveness which the Queen had expressed her desire to see followed with regard to the late convulsions at Paris, and which was approved by the Cabinet, as stated in Lord John Russell's letter of the 6th inst. Does Lord John know anything about the alleged approval, which, if true, would again expose the honesty and dignity of the Queen's Government in the eyes of the world?'

Lord John Russell replied to this letter next day, that he had already written to Lord Palmerston, 'saying, he presumed there was no truth in the report of Count Walewski.' To this he had received no answer, but he would now write again, and require an immediate answer for Her Majesty. 'Your Majesty,' he added, 'will remember that the instruction to Lord Normanby was exactly in conformity with your Majesty's desire.'

The question put by Lord John Russell to Lord Palmerston was one to which he was certainly entitled to expect a prompt reply. Letters came from Lord Palmerston on kindred subjects, but this was passed over in what Lord Russell afterwards called, not without reason, 'disdainful silence.' Among the letters so received was one charging the Orleans Princes with having been actively engaged in a conspiracy against Louis Napoleon. 'The Prince de Joinville,' Lord Palmerston wrote, 'had left Claremont for Lille some days before the *coup-d'état*, to place himself at the head of the troops there, while it was given out that he was confined to his room by illness; and the Duc d'Aumale, finding his brother bent on this expedition, had said that as the Prince de Joinville was a sailor and he himself was a soldier, he would not allow his sailor brother to go alone upon a land expedition, but would accompany him and share his fate and fortunes.' Unluckily for the truth of this story, the Duc d'Aumale had been long at Naples, and the inquiries instituted by the Queen enabled

Her Majesty to assure Lord John Russell (17th December), that she 'had been able satisfactorily to ascertain that the report about the French Princes rested upon no foundation whatever.'[4]

It was not till the 16th that Lord Palmerston replied to Lord John Russell's inquiry. In the meantime, however, the Foreign Secretary had written (16th December) a despatch to Lord Normanby expressing in strong terms his satisfaction at the success of the *coup-d'état*. This despatch was not submitted either to the Prime Minister or to the Queen. Writing on the 18th to the Queen, Lord John Russell mentioned that he had 'received from Lord Palmerston yesterday an explanation of his declaration of opinion to M. Walewski, which, Lord John Russell regrets to state, was quite unsatisfactory.' 'He thought himself compelled,' Lord John added, 'to write to Lord Palmerston in the most decisive terms. The whole correspondence shall be submitted to your Majesty.'

Lord Palmerston's letter of the 16th has been printed by his latest biographer (*Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 300 *et seq.*) It contains a full and very able exposition of his views as to the state of parties in France, and of his convic-

[4] In the *Life of Lord Palmerston* (ii. p. 287), an elaborate Memorandum, dated so late as the 29th of September, 1858, is printed, in which Lord Palmerston repeats the charge against the Orleans Princes in great detail, with the correction that the Duc d'Aumale had, by concert with his brother, set out from Naples to meet him and carry out the plot. How, if this were true, did it happen that neither the Prince President, nor his apologists, ever hinted at a charge, which, if well founded, would have been invaluable for their own vindication? Personal feeling seems to have blinded, in this instance, Lord Palmerston's generally clear perception. He had an ingrained distrust of the Orleans family. 'The family of Bourbon,' he wrote to Lord Normanby, 20th of November, 1851, 'have always been most hostile to England, and those members of that family who have owed us the greatest personal and political obligations have, perhaps, in their hearts hated us the most.' Such being his conviction, as a statesman he was bound to oppose them to the uttermost. But his distrust of the head of the family was carried to a pitch of extravagance, which it is difficult to comprehend.

tion, that as a conflict between the Assembly and the Prince President was inevitable, it was best for the interests of France and of Europe, that the President should have struck a decisive blow, as the first step towards establishing what Lord Palmerston considered the only strong Government then possible in France. To this letter Lord John Russell replied:—

'Woburn Abbey, 17th December, 1851.

'My dear Palmerston,—I have received your letter of the 16th, which has been brought to me by a messenger this morning. I have likewise read Lord Normanby's despatch of the 13th and your reply of the 16th, which appears to have been sent to Paris without my concurrence or the consent of the Queen.

'It appears to me, that in your letter to me you mistake the question at issue. That question is not, whether the President has been justified in dissolving the Assembly and annulling the Constitution, but whether you were justified, as the Queen's Secretary of State, in expressing an opinion upon the subject. Now upon this matter, I am sorry to say I cannot entertain a doubt. If the British Government wished to express an opinion upon the recent events in France, the Cabinet should have been consulted, and the opinion, when formed, openly avowed. If, as I conceived was the course taken, the British Government refrains from expressing any opinion on the internal affairs of France, the Queen's Secretary of State ought not to express an opinion, which is naturally considered as that of the British Government.

'I must now come to the painful conclusion. While I concur in the foreign policy of which you have been the adviser, and much as I admire the energy and ability with which it has been carried into effect, I cannot but observe, that misunder-

standings perpetually renewed, violations of prudence and decorum too frequently repeated, have marred the effects which ought to have followed from a sound policy and able administration. I am therefore most reluctantly compelled to come to the conclusion, that the conduct of foreign affairs can no longer be left in your hands with advantage to the country. If, instead of retiring from office you will accept the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, which I know that Lord Clarendon, without looking for any other office, will be happy to relinquish, I shall most willingly recommend you to the Queen to fill that high position, either with or without a British Peerage.

'Or, if there is any other course, by which I can meet your views, I shall be happy to do so. I have been too long your colleague not to appreciate highly your very eminent talents, and a capacity for business, which has never been surpassed. Nor do I esteem less highly your very friendly conduct as a colleague, and the support I have received from you on important and critical occasions. I remain,

'Yours faithfully,

'J. Russell.'

To this letter Lord Palmerston replied:

'Broadlands, 18th December, 1851.

'My dear J. Russell—I have received your letter of yesterday from Woburn, and I shall be prepared to give up the Seals of the Foreign Office whenever you inform me that my successor is ready to receive them. I have the satisfaction of thinking that the interests, the honour, the character, and the dignity of the country have not suffered while those seals have been in my keeping.

'As to the arrangements which you suggest, there are obvious reasons why I must decline to avail myself of them.

With regard to the particular question which you say in your letter is the point at issue between us, I have to say that there is a well-known and perfectly understood distinction in diplomatic intercourse between official conversations in which the opinions of Governments are expressed, and by which Governments are bound, and unofficial conversations which have not that character and effect, and nothing passed between me and Count Walewski on the occasion to which he referred in the despatch or letter quoted by M. Turgot, which in any way fettered the action of Her Majesty's Government. The opinion which, as explained in my former letter, I there expressed was my own; it was expressed as such : I am satisfied it was well founded ; and I think the expression of it was conducive to the maintenance of a good understanding with the British Government, and thereby to the interests of this country. The doctrine which you lay down in your letter is new, and not practical. For if everything that passed between a Secretary of State and a foreign Minister were to be deemed an official and formal communication from their respective Governments, and if the Secretary of State were to be precluded from expressing any opinion on passing events, except as the organ of a previously consulted Cabinet, there would be an end to that easy and familiar intercourse, which tends so usefully to the maintenance of friendly relations with foreign Governments.

'I have only to add, that my answer to Normanby's despatch of the 13th was sent direct, because the question to which he asked for an answer regarded myself personally.

'Yours sincerely,

'PALMERSTON.'

This answer produced no change in Lord John Russell's views, and he wrote next day in reply, that no course was left to him but to submit the correspondence to the

Queen, and to ask Her Majesty to appoint a successor to Lord Palmerston in the Foreign Office.

On the 20th Lord John Russell forwarded this correspondence to Her Majesty. In the letter which accompanied it, he wrote: 'It appears to him (Lord Russell), that Lord Palmerston has given most insufficient reasons for writing and sending his despatch of the 16th instant. Had he stated in that despatch, that the opinion given was his own, and that Lord Normanby was at liberty to contradict the assertion that Her Majesty's Government had expressed any approbation of the *coup-d'état*, the despatch might be said to concern himself only. But if the opinion of the Secretary of State is put prominently forward, and nothing appears on the other side, that opinion will be deemed and considered as the opinion of the Government.'

These documents Her Majesty found awaiting her on her arrival from Osborne at Windsor Castle the same day. 'She has perused them,' was her reply to Lord John Russell, 'with that care and attention which the importance and gravity of the subject demanded. The Queen has now to express to Lord John Russell her readiness to follow his advice and her acceptance of the resignation of Lord Palmerston.' At the same time the Prince wrote to Lord John Russell. The more important passages of this letter are the best answer to the charge which was made at the time, and has since been reiterated on the authority of Lord Palmerston himself, that Lord John Russell, in the step he had taken, was controlled by the Court, and that the Court in its turn was influenced by its sympathies with the reactionary Governments abroad.

'Windsor Castle, 20th December, 1851.

'My dear Lord John,—You will readily imagine, that the news of the sudden termination of your difference with Lord

Palmerston has taken us much by surprise, as we were wont to see such differences terminate in his carrying his points, and leaving the defence of them to his colleagues, and the discredit to the Queen.

'It was quite clear to the Queen, that we were entering upon most dangerous times, in which Military Despotism and Red Republicanism will for some time be the only powers on the Continent, to both of which the Constitutional Monarchy of England will be equally hateful. That the calm influence of our institutions, however, should succeed in assuaging the contest abroad must be the anxious wish of every Englishman, and of every friend of liberty and progressive civilisation. This influence has been rendered null by Lord Palmerston's personal manner of conducting the foreign affairs, and by the universal hatred which he has excited on the Continent. That you could hope to control him has long been doubted by us, and its impossibility is clearly proved by the last proceedings. I can therefore only congratulate you, that the opportunity of the rupture should have been one in which all the right is on your side.

'The distinction which Lord Palmerston tries to establish between his personal and his official acts is perfectly untenable. However much you may attempt such a distinction in theory, in practice it becomes impossible. Moreover, if the expression of an opinion is in harmony with the line of policy of a Government, it may be given officially; if differing, it must mislead, as it derives its importance only as coming from the Minister, and not from the private individual.'

In replying to this letter, Lord John Russell wrote:—'I perceived that the Queen had become more and more uneasy, and having given Lord Palmerston a special caution on the 29th November, it appeared to me, that I could not allow

any further indiscretion on his part to commit the Queen and the Cabinet. . . Yet I cannot deny, that a separation from a colleague in office, and a party associate out of office for twenty-one years, is very painful to me.'

On the 22nd of December the Cabinet met, and without a dissentient voice condemned Lord Palmerston's conduct (which they were at a loss to comprehend, except on the assumption that he had wished to force on a rupture), and approved of the course taken by Lord John Russell. In reporting what had taken place to the Queen in person next day, Lord John said that this was a great relief to himself. Lord Lansdowne, to whom he had first written on the subject, had alarmed him by answering, that it was not possible to avoid breaking with Lord Palmerston, but the consequence would be, that the Government would be unable to go on. This view, however, was not shared by the Cabinet. They did not despair of finding a successor, who would be acceptable to the country; and who, if less able or experienced, would be less likely to get the Government into trouble with the Liberal party, or to alienate the good will of the Foreign Powers. Whatever might be said to the contrary, either at home or abroad, it would soon be made clear, that the change which had taken place did not touch the principles, which had guided the foreign policy of the Government, but was confined to the mode of carrying them into effect. They accordingly decided to go on. The office vacated by Lord Palmerston was offered to Lord Clarendon, but having been declined by him, it was tendered to Lord Granville, who was sworn in upon the 27th of December.[5]

To one so loyal to his friends as Lord John Russell, the wrench by which he tore himself adrift from a political ally for whom and with whom he had fought many a stout battle,

[5] Lord Granville had been Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1837 to 1840 under Lord Palmerston.

must have been inexpressibly painful.[6] Nothing could have reconciled him to it, but a paramount sense of public duty, and of self-respect. No secondary influence either at home or abroad could weigh with a statesman of his character and courage in a crisis of this momentous kind. He had already borne much. Again and again his Ministry had been seriously embarrassed by the action of Lord Palmerston. The difficulty, never slight, of carrying on the Government, had again and again been made needlessly greater by indiscretions, which it was hard to vindicate, and which loosened the hold of the Prime Minister upon sections of the Liberal party, without whose support his Government must fall to pieces. On him, too, rested the ultimate responsibility for the Foreign policy of the Government, and yet he had found himself unable to check the insubordination of his Foreign Minister, after frequent warning and remonstrance.

The motives which constrained him to break off the connection between them, at the imminent hazard, as he knew, of fatally weakening his Ministry, are too obvious to be misunderstood, even if they were not palpable on the face of the documents above cited. Was he, or was he not, to have his authority set openly at defiance? Were the resolutions of the Cabinet to give way to the individual opinion or temper of one of its members? These were the plain issues to which Lord Palmerston had, by his vehement self-will, reduced the question between himself and his chief. Yet it has been authoritatively asserted, that what Lord Palmerston had done on the present occasion 'was seized upon merely as a pretext. The long-cherished hostility of certain foreign Courts and Governments acting upon our own was the motive power.'[7] In other words, the English Sovereign and the

[6] He told the Queen (27th December) 'that in his long political life he had not passed a week which had been so painful to him.'

[7] *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 308.

English Prime Minister sacrificed the interests of their country to the dictation of the Continental Powers. Somehow or other Lord Palmerston, it must be supposed, had brought himself to believe this at the time. Whether he retained the belief, in cooler moments, and when his position as Prime Minister brought him into closer contact with his Sovereign and the Prince, may well be doubted. But in a letter to his brother on the 22nd of January, 1852,[8] he makes the assertion in the broadest terms:

'The real ground for my dismissal,' he writes, 'was a weak truckling to the hostile intrigues of the Orleans family, Austria, Russia, Saxony, and Bavaria, and in some degree of the present Prussian Government. All these parties found their respective views and systems of policy thwarted by the course pursued by the British Government, and they thought that if they could remove the Minister they would change the policy. They had for a long time past effectually poisoned the mind of the Queen and Prince against me, and John Russell giving way, rather encouraged than discountenanced the desire of the Queen to remove me from the Foreign Office.'

The fact of Lord Palmerston's removal from the Government was no sooner known, than all at once broad insinuations to the same effect were freely scattered in certain journals, long conspicuous for their vigorous support of his foreign policy, and generally believed to be under his influence. The action taken by Lord John Russell was declared to be merely the result of a 'foregone conclusion'—we cite the very language used—'of poison instilled into his mind by Russian emissaries,' of intrigue on the part of the 'enemies of England,' jealous of Lord Palmerston as the one English Minister who was most able to withstand them. These charges were made in such pointed language, that the Russian

[8] See *loc. supra citat.* vol. ii. pp. 316–17. It is hard to believe that Lord Palmerston himself would have wished this letter to appear as embodying his final convictions.

Ambassador, Baron Brunnow, seems to have thought it incumbent upon him to address Lord John Russell on the subject. This he did on the 27th of December in the following terms:

'Some allusion having been made by the newspapers to our communications, as if connected with the circumstances which have led to Lord Palmerston's retiring from office, we think it due to you, as well as ourselves, to state distinctly here and abroad, that our representations have had nothing to do with the change which has taken place in the Foreign Office.

'I have communicated on the same subject with the Prussian Minister, and he has cordially given his consent to our decision, which we have already carried into effect by our verbal explanations to the other Foreign Ministers, who might have been induced to form an erroneous impression. We shall take care to correct it on every proper occasion.'

The reply of Lord John Russell to this communication was made the same day: 'I am particularly obliged to you,' he wrote, 'for contradicting any surmise, that the change in the Foreign Office is owing to any representations of the Foreign Ministers. It has taken place on grounds connected entirely with the dignity of the Crown and the character of the country.'

Official courtesy demanded that the Minister should express acknowledgments for a service, which, however well intended, was in no way called for by the occasion. Her Majesty, however, who was under no such obligation, in replying (28th December) to Lord John Russell's letter enclosing his correspondence with Baron Brunnow, gives expression to the feeling which the assumption on which the Baron's letter was based might have been expected to arouse:—

'Baron Brunnow's letter,' the Queen wrote, 'is in fact very presuming, as it insinuates the possibility of changes of

governments in this country taking place at the instigation of foreign Ministers, and the Queen is glad, that Lord John gave him a dignified answer.'

In such terms the minds found vent—for the Queen and Prince in all such matters were one—which 'had been for a long time past effectually poisoned' by the despotic Sovereigns of Northern Europe.

That the removal of Lord Palmerston from the Foreign Office had an immediate effect in improving our diplomatic intercourse with the Continental Powers was very soon apparent. The circumstances attending it, however, could not fail to raise distrust on the part of the Prince President, who was for a time under the impression, that it might lead to a change in the friendly relations between England and France, which he was himself bent on promoting. He was soon relieved of this unfounded apprehension; but a remark made by him on the day the tidings reached Paris of the removal of Lord Palmerston was most significant: '*La chute de Lord Palmerston est le coup le plus grave que j'ai reçu; c'est le seul ami sincère que j'avais: autant qu'il était Ministre, l'Angleterre n'avait point d'alliés.*' If this were indeed so, if England were regarded with feelings of hostility by all the Powers in Europe, with one exception, by reason of the distrust of her Foreign Secretary,—and on such a point the Prince President was a good authority,—it is easy to understand why the opinion expressed by Lord Macaulay in his diary at the time should have been shared by many, who were, like him, great admirers of the Minister's abilities, but were at the same time not blind to his defects. 'Palmerston is out,' he writes, on the 24th of December. 'It was high time; but I cannot help being sorry. A daring, indefatigable, high-spirited man; but too fond of conflict, and too ready to sacrifice everything to victory, when once

he was in the ring.'—(Mr. Trevelyan's *Life of Lord Macaulay*, vol. ii. p. 299.)

When Parliament met, which it did on the 3rd of February, 1852, the House of Commons was all eagerness to learn from authority the cause of Lord Palmerston's removal. They were not kept long in suspense. In a speech of convincing force Lord John Russell stated the reasons, which had 'made it impossible for him to act any longer with his noble friend in that situation in which he had shown such distinguished ability.' His statement included many of the facts and documents which have been already cited. But the most telling incident of his speech was the reading of the Queen's Memorandum of the 12th of August, 1850, quoted above, p. 305. The House felt that this document would never have been written but under circumstances of strong provocation, and this feeling was deepened by the light thrown upon the Memorandum by what Lord John Russell had to tell of the Kossuth affair and of what had occurred with reference to the *coup-d'état*.

It has been said by Lord Palmerston's last biographer, that the resort to this Memorandum 'was a surprise,' and placed Lord Palmerston at an unfair disadvantage. It was no surprise. Lord Palmerston had been distinctly told beforehand by Lord John Russell, that he intended to make use of this document. If therefore Lord Palmerston preferred not to avail himself of the opportunity, which this notice gave him, to prepare his own defence, it is scarcely reasonable to say that the resort to the Memorandum 'for the purposes of debate in the House of Commons gave Lord John Russell an unexpected success in the discussion.'[9]

[9] *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. i. p. 331. Which would have been the greater wrong to the Sovereign—for Lord Palmerston to have given his own explanation to Parliament of the circumstances which led to the Memorandum, as he was set free to do by the reference to it by Lord John Russell, or to leave it in the power of a biographer, upon the authority of his own

To those who had been accustomed to see Lord Palmerston rise with the difficulties of his position, it was a surprise and disappointment to find how feeble and inconclusive was his reply, and how completely it avoided the points on which Lord John Russell had laid stress in his statement. It was obvious to all present that the quotation of the Memorandum came upon him with overwhelming effect. From that moment he sat with his forehead resting on his hands, absorbed in thought, and seeming not to attend to the further course of Lord John Russell's speech. When he rose to reply he was warmly cheered by his supporters, but, as he advanced, their hopes of a successful vindication dwindled away. The speech was obviously that of a man in the wrong, whom not even his great talents and practised dexterity could extricate from the embarrassment of a bad cause.[10]

On all hands it was admitted, that the impression produced upon the House by what had taken place was unfavourable to Lord Palmerston. It was even thought by some experienced observers that his position as a public man was irreparably injured. This conclusion, however, was very quickly disproved. Whatever his faults as a Foreign Minister might have been, his influence in the country and in the House was too great to be shaken even by the unpleasant circumstances, which led to his temporary exclusion from office. At all events he was not a man to be daunted by defeat. Its bitterness, no doubt, was not soon forgotten. It appears to have continued for a

letters, to speak of that Sovereign, in the language cited above on pages 305 and 422 ?

[10] We have before us the memorandum of a conversation with one of his parliamentary supporters at this time, in which Lord Palmerston gave the following explanation of the reason of his failure. 'I had prepared a long speech, which would have been triumphant, vindicating my whole foreign policy ; but, when Lord John read the Queen's Memorandum, it was all upset. I could not use any part of it, and had in a hurry to think what I could put together. In fact I had nothing to say. *Lord John had given me notice that he would refer to the Queen's Memorandum of August,* 1850, *but somehow I did not believe it.*'

time to warp his judgment both of his Sovereign and of the Prince. But a day was to come, in which more intimate knowledge made him see, that they who had but one motive of action in their public life—a single-minded care for the welfare and the dignity of England,—had not to learn, even from the most spirited of Ministers, or the subtlest of diplomatists, how these were best to be maintained, and that in much that he had said and written of them he had been utterly mistaken.

Among the Prince's papers is a memorandum of a conversation between himself and the Duke of Wellington at Windsor Castle on the 21st of January, 1852, on the subject of Lord Palmerston's retirement. We extract from it those parts of it which bear on the Constitutional issues involved.

'I told the Duke,' the Prince writes, 'I thought Palmerston would lay stress in his defence upon his having spoken to Walewski as Viscount Palmerston, and not as Secretary of State. "Oh, but that won't do! That would be dishonest. It would be appearing in two characters. No! No! We are very particular upon that point. Not only can a Minister not speak to any one on matters connected with Her Majesty's service except officially, but we even require that there should be consistency of conduct between the man's private life and his public employment. . . ."

'The Duke thought he would complain of Lord John Russell's interfering with his office, as he saw it hinted in the *Post* that Lord John had long been in the habit of "interfering in his department."

'I rejoined, that I supposed, when his Grace was Prime Minister, he was somewhat in the habit of interfering with the Foreign Department himself.'

'"Good God!" said the Duke, "there never went a paper, which I had not brought to me first. But Lord Palmerston could at no time be trusted, as he was always anxious to do things by himself. When I succeeded him as Secretary of

State for Foreign Affairs in 1834, he had offered the mediation of England between France and the United States. I received the answer from the United States, that they would accept the mediation. I at once sent for the Under-Secretary to look out for me what the terms of the offer had been. After a long search he came back to me, saying: 'My lord! there is no trace of the transaction to be found in the office!' He [Palmerston] had managed the whole by private correspondence, and I had absolutely to ask him to give me some information on the subject."'

That Lord Palmerston had not altered his ways much in the meantime was shown by what occurred in the December of this very year. The use made by Polish and other refugees of their asylum in England to organise conspiracies against the Governments abroad had led to very urgent remonstrances on the subject being addressed to our Government by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France. In the official notes conveying these remonstrances great stress was laid upon a Despatch by Lord Palmerston to Mr. Bancroft, the American Minister, on the 30th September, 1848, in reply to a demand for explanations as to the arrest of certain persons, who had come over from America at the time of the Irish Rebellion. The action of our Government was vindicated in this despatch by a line of argument, which the Continental Governments, not without some show of reason, suggested would justify them in adopting rigorous measures towards Englishmen who might be found travelling within their dominions. Yet this document, a State paper of obviously the greatest importance, had never been submitted to either the Prime Minister or the Queen, and they first became aware of its existence from the copies transmitted from abroad with the Notes on behalf of the Continental Powers.

In the discussions which ensued in the public journals and in society upon Lord Palmerston's removal from office,

it was often broadly hinted by his supporters that the Prince Consort had been the chief instrument of his fall. Whether Lord Palmerston encouraged this view, or not, is now of little moment. This much is certain, however, that in after years no man spoke more warmly of the Prince, or was readier to acknowledge his services to the country. Nor can we better conclude our narrative of this painful episode in the political history of the year, than by placing on record one of the many illustrations of this which have come within our knowledge. In a letter addressed to us (6th Feb. 1875) by Colonel Kemeys Tynte, formerly Member for Bridgwater, and an intimate personal friend of Lord Palmerston's, he writes:

'Shortly after the return of Her Majesty and his Royal Highness from their visit to the Emperor and Empress of the French [in August, 1855], I called one morning upon Lord Palmerston at Cambridge House. I congratulated him upon the, in every respect, very successful visit of Her Majesty and the Prince to France, remarking, "what an extraordinary man the Emperor was!" "Yes," replied Lord Palmerston, "he is, but we have a far greater and more extraordinary man nearer home." Lord Palmerston paused, and I said, "The Prince Consort?" "Certainly," he replied. "The Prince would not consider it right to have obtained a throne as the Emperor has done; but in regard to the possession of the soundest judgment, the highest intellect, and the most exalted qualities of mind, he is far superior to the Emperor. Till my present position"—he was then Premier —"gave me so many opportunities of seeing his Royal Highness, I had no idea of his possessing such eminent qualities as he has, and how fortunate it has been for the country that the Queen married such a Prince." These are as nearly as possible Lord Palmerston's words, which made a deep impression upon me.'

CHAPTER XLV.

The state of Europe at the beginning of 1852 was well calculated to dissipate the fanciful visions of an era of peace, which had been woven by imaginative journalists under the excitement of the Great Exhibition of 1851. To these the Prince had given no countenance. That era, he well knew, was yet far off, however much people might be taught to think kindlier of each other by being brought together in the peaceful rivalry of which the Exhibition was the arena. The days had long gone by in which, as Gibbon says, 'the nations of the earth were brought together by the pursuits of piracy, or the practices of pilgrimage.' Rapine, if sometimes it went only masked in the guise of commerce, had been in the main replaced by the give and take of equitable barter and exchange; while religious enthusiasm no longer went forth to propagate the Gospel of peace with corselet and sword under the crusader's mantle. But the selfish passions, by which the spirit of enterprise is swayed, the aspirations and jealousies which fire the hearts of nations, were likely for many a day to be the fertile cause of warfare in the future, as they had been in the past. The Exhibition might do much to give a quickening impulse to the humanising influence of national intercourse, and to make men feel and understand the blessings of peace. It might bring home to their minds how much can be done for the good of mankind by the interchange of the commodities and the manufactures of countries far remote, and still more by giving to the less

favoured races some of the benefits, which the genius and industry, the culture and refinement, of the more favoured had achieved for themselves. But it left untouched the passions and the interests out of which wars take their rise; and that these had lost none of their power for mischief was very soon made clear.

We had at this moment at the Cape one of those little wars on our hands which are at once distressing and inglorious. It had been going on for upwards of eighteen months: it had cost, and was yet to cost, the lives of many brave men; and it took from England a body of soldiers whom at this period she could ill spare. More than a year was yet to elapse before the Caffre war was brought to a close, and one of our most valuable Colonial possessions was to be made secure by the successful operations of General Cathcart. But a greater source of uneasiness lay nearer home. All the old apprehensions of French invasion were kindled afresh by what had taken place in Paris. A Napoleon, confirmed by the votes of the nation in the despotic power which he had seized, was sure, it was thought, to follow in the footsteps of his great predecessor, and to seek by active employment for his army to ensure their devotion to his person, while at the same time he flattered the ambition of a people, who, untaught by the lessons of the past, still associated the name of Napoleon with the thought of nations prostrate at their feet.

In what direction he might move his forces, who might tell? Switzerland was menaced; the extension of a frontier to the Rhine was darkly hinted at; and Belgium, in alarm at what it had some reason to fear might happen, was strengthening her defences, and appealing to the Great Powers by which her neutrality was guaranteed to let it be understood at the Elysée, that they were determined to make their guarantee effective. But a move in any of these

directions was little likely to be made, for it would have brought against France the united forces of all the great Continental Powers. Was it certain, however, that they would move a step to oppose any attempt upon England—England, whom the reactionary Sovereigns had no reason to love, being as it was the stronghold of Constitutional freedom and the sanctuary of refuge to the most dreaded partisans of the late revolutionary movement? It was on this side that our danger lay; and the violence of many of our public writers and speakers was calculated to provoke rather than to avert it. Day by day the English press hurled invectives at the deviser and the agents of the *coup-d'état*, which they found it hard to bear, and not they alone, but a large section of the French people as well, who, naturally enough, smarted under a constant fire of contumely, directed by foreigners against a government which they were themselves contented to accept. Nations, like individuals, are never more ready to resent imputations on their self-respect, than when they are themselves not altogether sure that they have maintained it; and the remembrance of the great defeat of 1815 was still sufficiently stinging to be serviceable to those who wished to provoke a rupture in reviving an animosity, which not all the friendly intercourse of recent years had been able wholly to extinguish.

Diplomacy was never more active than it was at this moment in its special business of preventing war. From hour to hour new combinations and new possibilities arose for consideration. No wonder then, if the Prince, who had long cured himself of his early dislike for politics, threw himself with redoubled energy into the study of the political chart. 'Albert,' the Queen writes to King Leopold (3rd February) 'grows daily fonder and fonder of politics and business, and is wonderfully fit for both—showing such perspicuity and such courage—and I grow daily to dislike them

both more and more. We women are not made for governing; and, if we are good women, we must dislike these masculine oc upations! But these are times which force one to take interest in them, *mal gré bon gré*, and of course therefore I feel this interest now *intensely*.'

It was under these circumstances that the country again woke up in its wonted spasmodic way to the fact that the national defences were inadequate. A sudden descent upon our shores might have enabled an invader to inflict serious disaster and still more serious shame. We had been warned of this again and again; but now the danger of an attack must be counted on, if the distrust of the head of the French Government were as well founded as it was widely felt and clamorously proclaimed. A general cry was heard, that the time had come, not merely to augment our naval force, in which we were at this time run very close by the French, but also to strengthen our inner line of defence. A spontaneous movement for the establishment of a force of Volunteers was encouraged by the Government, and ultimately led to what has now become a permanent institution. The Government also resolved to satisfy the prevailing demand for further security by bringing before Parliament a scheme for the re-establishment of a Militia.

On the eve of the meeting of Parliament the outline of this scheme was submitted to the Queen in the usual way. The subject had already engaged the anxious thought both of Her Majesty and the Prince—how thoroughly and to what effect, will be seen by the following letter from the Prince to Lord John Russell:—

'My dear Lord John,—The Queen wishes me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and in returning you the outline of the Plan for the Local Militia, adopted by the Cabinet, to transmit to you, and through you to the Cabi-

net, the considerations which have arisen in her mind with reference to our defences in general, and to the specific measure now proposed.

'This is the third time during the Queen's reign that an apprehension of war and consequent panic about invasion have seized the public mind of this country. The Queen has witnessed on the previous occasions, that under the pressure of this panic hasty measures had been prepared by the Government and introduced into Parliament, but that before they had passed through the necessary parliamentary stages, the panic had materially subsided, and the Government had consequently gradually arrived at the determination to leave the measures thus proposed inoperative.

'The Queen conceives that the same thing may happen in the present instance. She would seriously lament this, as she is of opinion that it is most detrimental and dangerous to the interests of the country, that our defences should not be at all times in such a state as to place the empire in security from sudden attack; and that delay in making our preparations for defence *till the moment when the apprehension of danger arises* exposes us to a twofold disadvantage.

'1st. The measures will be necessarily imperfect and expensive as taken under the pressure of the emergency and under the influence of a feeling which operates against the exercise of a cool and sound judgment.

'2nd. Our preparations will have to be made at a time when it is most important, for the preservation of peace, neither to produce alarm at home, nor by our armaments to provoke the Power with which we apprehend a rupture.

'In order to avoid this disadvantage, the Queen thinks that the measures *now* to be proposed to Parliament ought to combine the following requisites:

'1st. That they shall be *really sufficient* for the security

of the empire; and 2nd, that their nature be such as to warrant the expectation that the community will not become *disinclined to uphold them during long periods of peace and confidence* on account of their expensive or oppressive character.

'The Queen would wish, therefore, that a statement showing the whole of our means at present available, both naval and military, and the various modes in which it is proposed to augment and improve them for the future, should be laid before her, in order that she may be able to judge how far the separate measures in contemplation are likely to realise the desired objects, and to *accord with each other* as parts of a *general* and *permanent* system.

'The outline of the Militia Bill laid before the Queen appears to be drawn up with great care, and to be well adapted for its purpose. It does not state the allowance to be given to each man, nor the probable expense of the whole force, nor does it explain, whether the Crown is merely to have the power by proclamation to call out, enroll, and drill a militia, or whether the exercise of that force is made peremptory by the Act. Should the latter not be intended, it may be doubtful whether in time of peace any Minister would have the courage to advise the issue of the necessary proclamation.

'Ever yours truly,

'ALBERT.

'Windsor Castle, 8th February, 1852.'

No time was lost in preparing and placing before Her Majesty the statements asked for by the Prince. With these before him he went again into the question, and arrived at the conclusion, that the proposed Militia Bill would go but a little way towards its solution. 'My own impression is,' he writes to Lord John Russell (14th February), 'that you could get a cheaper and more efficient force by the enrolment

of an increased number of pensioners, and of such men as took their discharge from the army after ten years' service, and one less likely to be distasteful to the people in the long run.'

This view he worked out more fully in writing to the Duke of Wellington, with whom, as we have seen, he was in frequent communication on the subject of the army:

'Buckingham Palace, 19th February, 1852.

'My dear Duke,—Since our last conversation I have reflected further on the possibility of obtaining a cheap, well-trained, and efficient Reserve Force, which should give the Army a similar advantage to that procured for the Navy by the formation of the Naval Reserve.

'I find that the men above ten years in service may be calculated at about one-seventh of the effective strength of the regiments of the Line. This would give upon the regiments at home from 6,000 to 8,000 men. As you are not likely to obtain a large increase of the army, the object might surely be effected if you were to sanction the discharge of these men for the purpose of forming them into reserve battalions, to be called out periodically for drill and exercise, and to be retained under the immediate command of the Commander-in-Chief, the inducement for their taking the discharge and enrolling themselves being *the deferred pension*. You could then immediately fill their places by new recruits, restoring the regiments to their former strength. Should our shores be threatened, the reserved battalions might immediately be attached to the line.

'I am afraid that the Militia with only fourteen days' training will never give us *soldiers*. The reserve would supply the best troops, and in the highest state of efficiency for immediate service. There is no doubt that the regiments of the Line would for the moment lose some of their best

men, but their services would be equally available to the country, and it is to be considered that in no other way can an increase to the army be obtained at this moment, and that, whenever it shall take place, it must equally consist for a time of raw recruits.

'To keep the Line on its full strength no man need be discharged until the man to replace him shall have joined, and these recruits ought to be formed into soldiers quicker in the regiments of the Line than if they were levied for formation into entirely new and separate corps, as will have to be done with the Militia, Volunteers, or any other corps you may wish to raise on an emergency.

'I am sure you will receive this suggestion with your usual kindness, and believe me always

'Yours truly,

'ALBERT.'

The suggestion here made is one which is to this hour, we believe, the subject of grave controversy among military men, being approved or condemned according as opinion inclines to the conviction, that the object to be aimed at is the force most efficient for defence or for attack. For defence, unquestionably the plan of a reserve force is the best. But it must not be forgotten, that it is for attack that England always has used her forces, and most probably will always continue to use them,—on the principle that the best parry is a vigorous attack,—and that for the purposes of attack it is not well that our regiments should be drained of a large proportion of their oldest soldiers. This was obviously present to the Duke of Wellington's mind in replying to the Prince.

In his answer he does not admit the analogy of the Naval Reserve, which in itself he calls a very proper establishment under existing circumstances. 'A fleet in the Channel may be required at short notice. There is no want of ships,

armament, or equipment; but men can't be found in a short time. A reserve engaged to appear when required is thought preferable even to having the men afloat. The seamen to form this reserve must be volunteers.' 'The Prince's plan,' he continues, 'involves the discharge from the service of about one-seventh of the soldiers in the several regiments—amounting to one-seventh of the whole—that is, upon about 24,000 infantry in England, to discharge something more than 3,000 to form them into corps of reserve.' He then proceeds:

'The system of the British army, as well as of all others, is founded upon the regiment under the command of commanding officers, divided into companies, each under its captains, squads, &c. The example, the life and soul of the regiment, companies, and squads, is, under the officers, in the old soldiers who have served ten or nearly ten years, and have attained twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age. F. M. the Duke of Wellington commanded a regiment himself for many years abroad and at home, in quarters, garrison, and the field. He knows, as every man knows who has any experience in the British service, that the conduct of the regiment in all situations, particularly under the fire of the enemy, depends, under the officers, upon the countenance and example of the old soldiers.

'The British army has at all times an arduous but a highly honourable task to perform. It meets its enemy, consisting itself of only one-third of the numbers of the army to which it is opposed. The other two-thirds are either Sepoys, or Portuguese, or Spaniards, or Belgians, or Hottentots, or other troops less accustomed to the operations of war in the field, and, in the case for which it is now desired to be prepared, they will be composed in this country of the various corps of Militia and Volunteers, Rifle-Club men, and others. . . .

'F. M. the Duke of Wellington has never been sensible of so painful an impression made upon the minds of the officers who had served with the army, as by the Act of Parliament limiting the period of enlistment to ten years. They were apprehensive that the army would lose the services in the several regiments of the old soldiers. This loss would be effectually realised by the

adoption of the plan of forming a Reserve for the army suggested by your Royal Highness. F. M. the Duke of Wellington does not doubt that these men would serve well in the proposed Reserve Corps; but the regiment from which [they were] discharged, consisting of seven or eight hundred men, would lose the portion of it which forms its example, its heart and soul. . . .'

The Duke's argument would have been unanswerable but for the fact that the regiments were already liable to lose their good men after ten years' service. Surely, then, it was true policy to make them available, if possible, when they left the army. As a disciplined force they could be relied upon in an emergency, whilst the same confidence could not be felt in a Militia which had been under drill for only three or four weeks in the year, and many of whom might be either out of the country, or absent themselves from the muster at the very time they were wanted.

If the Duke liked the Prince's scheme little, he seems to have liked that of the Government still less. He desired a Militia indeed, for he considered that this, which for upwards of eighty years had been the foundation of our Peace establishment, ought never to have been discontinued. But what he wanted was the old regular Militia. The Government, on the other hand, proposed to raise a local Militia, which the Duke warned them was open to very grave objections. The ordinary Militia could be taken anywhere; the local Militia could not be moved out of their counties. How could such a force be made readily available in case of invasion? In many counties there were no barracks. Where, then, were the local Militia to be assembled and drilled?

When Lord John Russell explained his measures for the national defence in the Committee of the House of Commons on the 16th of February, these and other arguments against a local Militia, urged by Lord Palmerston, were received by

the House with a cordiality which must have shaken the Premier's confidence in the efficiency of his measure. Cheer after cheer saluted Lord Palmerston as he urged, with all the force and eloquence which he had at command in speaking on the subject of the national defences—a topic which he always had earnestly at heart—that the time was come when we should no longer be without a really disciplined force of armed men sufficient in numbers to make us feel secure against invasion. The Militia, he said, was that force. 'The regular Militia is founded upon Acts of Parliament which now exist, but, under the new Bill, it is doubtful whether the new force could be called out until the enemy had landed, and until it was too late to be of any service.'

The encouragement which he received on this occasion was not lost upon Lord Palmerston. When, a few nights afterwards (20th February), the report of the Committee was brought up, recommending that leave should be given 'to bring in a Bill to amend the laws respecting the local Militia,' he divided the House upon an amendment to substitute 'consolidate' for 'amend,' and to omit the word 'local.' The Protectionists, and several of the leading Peelites, followed him into the lobby. The Government were in a minority of 11, and Lord John Russell at once announced that this vote on a question of such national importance must be taken as an indication that Ministers no longer enjoyed the confidence of the House. It was also without precedent that a Ministry should not even obtain leave to introduce a Bill in the form which they thought best, when there was no objection in principle to the objects to which it was directed. This argued in itself a foregone conclusion that the House were not prepared to continue to the Ministry even that measure of support which had hitherto enabled them to struggle on under constant apprehensions of a collapse. Next day the Ministers placed their resigna-

tions in the hands of Her Majesty. The Cabinet, Lord John Russell explained, had been unanimous that there was no other course to pursue, and that it would not be advisable to make use of the Queen's permission to have recourse to a dissolution.

Except that the Russell Ministry had become weaker, no material change in the state of parties had taken place since Lord Derby's failure to form an administration the previous year. The country was indeed prosperous; but any attempt to return to the principles of Protection would have thrown all the great manufacturing towns into a fever of excitement, most undesirable at a time when, with a view to our foreign relations, it was of the highest importance that the Government should be popular and strong. As matters stood, however, a Government composed of Protectionists, with Lord Derby at its head, was alone possible. Unluckily for them, his friends and himself had recently given renewed assurances of their continued adherence to the doctrines of Protection; and in these assurances they had furnished a weapon to the Opposition, which was certain to be used, at no distant date, for the destruction of any Government they might form. But in the meantime, having helped in the defeat of the Ministry, they were bound to undertake the responsibility of supplying their places. This responsibility Lord Derby informed the Queen on the 22nd of February he was prepared to assume. He was in a decided minority in the House of Commons, and was by no means sure of a majority in the Lords, but in the critical state of the country abroad and at home he conceived that he ought not to ask for permission to dissolve Parliament. He would endeavour to get through the session without proposing any important measures which might provoke discussion, and take the sense of the country upon a dissolution early in the year upon the question of Protection.

By the 27th the new Ministerial arrangements were completed. Lord Palmerston, who had been offered the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, declined to serve under Lord Derby on the ground that he could under no circumstances assent to the expediency of imposing a duty upon foreign corn. A similar refusal was certain to be received in the only other quarters from which men of official experience could have been obtained. The Ministry was therefore formed entirely from the ranks of the Protectionists, and to Mr. Disraeli, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer, was assigned the leadership of the House of Commons, to which his pre-eminence in opposition had given him an indisputable title. The composition of the Ministry—most of them men new to official life—augured ill for any lengthened tenure of office, especially in the face of the opposition of the whole Liberal party, aided by the Peelites, who were preparing the way for a coalition by fighting side by side with old adversaries against a common enemy. But more fatal than any shortcoming in point of experience or ability was the false position in which they stood before the country. They could not carry out a Free Trade policy without renouncing the doctrines on which their very existence as a party depended; neither could they move one step towards a reversal of that policy without raising a storm of resistance, which it would have been impossible to withstand.[1] On the one hand, their friends looked to them for the fulfilment of the promises by which they had courted the support of the country party since 1846; on the other stood a phalanx of experienced statesmen determined to force from them the admission, which they were equally determined to avoid, that the policy which they had denounced for years

[1] No sooner was Lord Derby's Administration formed, than a meeting was held at Manchester to revive the old Anti-Corn Law League (2nd March). At this meeting 27,000*l.* were subscribed in ten minutes towards the funds of the Association.

must not only be maintained, but that all their predictions of ruin and disaster from its adoption had been falsified by experience.

No ordinary courage was required for facing the difficulties of such a position. This was a quality in which neither Lord Derby nor his Chancellor of the Exchequer were deficient, and, backed as it was by corresponding energy and ability, it enabled the Government not only to conduct with success the ordinary business of the country, but to carry several important measures of legal and sanitary reform, to which it could point with just satisfaction at the close of the brief session which ensued.

One of their first measures was to satisfy public feeling by the introduction of a Militia Bill. It provided for raising a force of 80,000 men, 50,000 the first year, and 30,000 the second, the period of service to be five years. The scheme was well received when introduced by Mr. Walpole, the Home Secretary, on the 29th of March, and by the end of June it had become law. Its progress through Parliament was signalised, on the one hand, by the opposition of Lord John Russell, who had thrown up the reins of Government because he had himself been prevented from introducing a less efficient measure of defence, and, on the other, by the energetic support of the Duke of Wellington, in a speech which was almost his last public utterance in the House of Lords:

'I tell you,' said the Duke, 'you have never had in your army more men than enough to relieve the sentries on duty at your stations in the different parts of the world; such is the state of your peace establishment at the present time, such has been the state of your establishment for the last ten years. . . . What I desire—and I believe it is a desire the most moderate that can be formed—is, that you shall give us, in the first instance, the old constitutional peace establishment. When you have got that, then you may do what you please. . . . Everything has a beginning, and this is a commencement. You must

make a beginning here, and it will take some months before you can form reserve regiments. . . . I recommend you to adopt this measure as a completion of the peace establishment. It will give you a constitutional force. It will not be at first, or for some time, everything we could desire, but by degrees it will become what you want—an efficient auxiliary force to the regular army.'

In the discussions on Lord John Russell's Militia Bill, so much had been said, and well said, as to the inadequacy of any Militia force for the purposes of home defence, that the prospects of any Militia Bill seemed rather precarious. At best, too, even in the view of the Duke of Wellington and other military men, it only answered part of the problem. It supplied numbers, which were absolutely wanted, to set free the regular army for action, but it did not secure a permanent body of efficient and trained soldiers. Deeply impressed by this feeling, the Prince Consort had early in April worked out his ideas as to the formation of a Reserve Force, in connection with, and to form part of, the army establishment, with a fulness of detail which may be inferred from the fact that it occupies no less than twenty foolscap pages of manuscript. On the 17th of April the Prince writes in a private memorandum, 'I gave this scheme to Lord Derby to read, and explained to him those points upon which he wished for explanation. He had no objections to make, but was evidently alarmed at a plan being set up in opposition to his Militia Bill. I told him, however, that nobody had seen it but the Duke of Cambridge and Colonel Grey—that I placed the memorandum in his hands as a measure upon which he might fall back in case his Militia Bill should fail: if it succeeded, he might lock it up without saying a word to anybody. He was much pleased at this, and we agreed that he should not show it to anybody whilst the second reading of Mr. Walpole's Bill was pending.'

When the Militia Bill had passed, it was no longer neces-

sary to withhold the Prince's plan from the consideration of those who might at no distant date be again called on to deal with the question. It was accordingly submitted by the Prince to Lord John Russell, to Sir James Graham, and to Sir George Grey. It met with the approval of them all, and in after years the principle on which it was based was adopted and carried into practice.

While in this and in other ways the Prince was giving the closest attention to the question of the National Defences, which was a subject of deep and earnest solicitude to the Queen and to himself, he was no less busy with winding up the affairs of the Great Exhibition, and carrying out his project of securing land at South Kensington with the surplus, for the purpose of concentrating upon it the various Institutions which he contemplated for the advancement of Science and Art. The property was in numerous hands, and the prices demanded were high. But the Prince had the courage to act upon his conviction that as a mere financial speculation the purchase of a considerable estate in this locality could not fail; while, for the purposes for which he designed it, no site so fit or so cheap could be secured elsewhere. So fully were the Commissioners impressed with the soundness of his views, that they virtually placed the surplus at his disposal for the purpose of giving them effect. In this way, an estate of about ninety acres was acquired, at a total cost of 342,500*l.*, or about 3,800*l.* an acre. Of this sum the Government advanced 177,500*l.*, the balance being found by the Exhibition Commissioners. The chief motive by which Lord Derby's Government were influenced in making this advance was, that possession of this land would enable them to transfer the National Gallery to that part of the estate which fronts Hyde Park, and thus to carry out the recommendation of a Committee of the House of Commons in 1850, that the National Pictures should be removed away 'from the smoke

and dirt of London.' But when a Bill for effecting this object, which was introduced by the Government in 1856, was defeated on the second reading, there was no longer any reason for their retaining an interest in the estate, and their partnership with the Commissioners was accordingly dissolved in 1858, when the Commissioners repaid to the Government the sum advanced in 1851. Although the objects which the Prince set before him in the acquisition of this estate have been very partially carried out, the public is now enjoying some of the fruits of his forethought in the site which was thus secured for the magnificent collections of the South Kensington Museum, and also for the National Museum of Natural History. The greater part of the rest of the estate remains yet to be dealt with, and the mere money value of what is left is more than double the sum paid for the whole property.

In the negotiations for the purchase of a part of the estate the agent for the Commissioners, who was entirely in the dark as to the general design of those for whom he was acting, placed them in a most awkward predicament by agreeing to take the land on a building lease, with covenants which would have obliged the Commissioners to build dwelling houses upon it at a cost of a million, and at the same time have prevented them from carrying out their plan. The gentleman to whom the property belonged, Baron Villars, behaved most handsomely by releasing the Commissioners from the arrangement, and entering into a fresh contract, which secured to them the fee simple of the land. But while the question of their liability remained still undecided, the anxiety of a body of gentlemen who felt themselves bound in honour not to repudiate the act of their agent may be imagined. It robbed the Prince of appetite and of sleep. The pecuniary liability alone was alarming; but worse than this was the threatened miscarriage of a design which he had deeply at heart. 'On this occasion,'

the Queen writes, 'he confided his distresses to the Queen, who tried by all means in her power to encourage and cheer him, and she had the inexpressible happiness of hearing from him that she had succeeded in her efforts. He quoted the following words from the song *Die Thräne* (The Tear):

> 'Doch wenn der Mann die Hoffnung schon verlor,
> Blickt doch das Weib vertrauungsvoll empor
> Zur Sternenwelt, zum heitren Himmel's Licht,
> Und eine Thräne spricht, "Verzage nicht!"'[2]

From a letter of the Queen's to King Leopold at this time we obtain another glimpse of that domestic happiness which made tolerable the wear and tear of the anxiety inseparable from the royal state. It is written (25th May) from Osborne, to which they had gone for the Queen's birthday:

'We spent yesterday very happily and peaceably. I only feel that I can never be half grateful enough for so much love, devotion, and happiness. My beloved Albert was, if possible, more than usually kind and good in showering gifts, which he knew I wished for, on me. Mama was most kind too, and the children, in particular Vicky, did everything they could to please me.'

During this brief stay at Osborne, the Prince writes to the Dowager Duchess of Saxe-Coburg:

'In Germany the distress seems to be very great, while here one can scarcely remember a time when the people were so well off, and trade and manufactures so flourishing. Our Protectionist Ministry hardly venture to name the word Protection, and goes to the next election upon Free Trade

[2] This song, to music by Gumbert, was at the time much sung, having been brought into popularity by the fine singing of Herr Pischek.

> The husband's heart is bowed unto the dust,
> But still the wife looks up with fearless trust,
> To heaven's pure light, up to the stars beyond,
> And a tear falls, that says, 'Do not despond!'

principles. This furnishes the most brilliant confirmation of Peel's statesmanship, though he has not been spared to enjoy the triumph.

'In Germany statesmanship is being again introduced from the steppes of Russia, and the Emperors will present it to the bureaucrats with orders and snuff-boxes. Whenever a Privy Councillor sneezes, it is to the disgrace of his native land. The Kings of the Rhein Bund, too, are again behaving in the Customs question in a way befitting their origin. Hatred of Prussia and self-conceit *versus* the holiest and weightiest interests of their people! God forgive them!

'Stockmar, alas, went off yesterday, and leaves a terrible gap behind. The children are well. They grow apace, and develop new virtues daily, and also new naughtinesses. The virtues we try to retain, and the naughtinesses to throw overboard.

'Osborne, 22nd May, 1852.'

A few days before this letter was written Baron Stockmar, who had resided in the Palace since the previous November, left England for Coburg. The Prince had never had greater reason than during these months of political disquiet at home and abroad to feel how much he gained in knowledge and in confidence from constant intercourse with this invaluable friend. 'I need not tell you,' he writes to the Baron (23rd May), what you must divine, that you have left behind you a frightful void in my life, and I must now brood silently over the thoughts which I might have talked over with and had confirmed by you. I will, therefore, have recourse to reading, in which I am usually very remiss, and which, unless pursued with method and connection, is, moreover, not particularly attractive.'

Considering how much of the time and thought of the Prince was taken up in other ways, it would have been

strange indeed had he been able to find leisure for much reading. But whatever he read, he read thoroughly, *Haud multa sed multum* being his principle. He noted in his diary at the end of each year the books he had read within it. It may interest the reader to see the record for the year 1852:

'The *Diary of Samuel Pepys*. *Les Idées Napoléoniennes*. Nassau Senior's *Diary*, 1848 *to* 1851, *at Paris*. Colonel Morris on *National Defences of England*. Mr. Roebuck's *History of the Whigs at the time of the Reform Bill*. Mr. Senior's *Diary in Italy*. Strauss's *Life of Christ* (compared carefully with the Bible). A *Life of the Duke of Wellington*. *The Report of the Cambridge Commission*. *Les Limites de la France*, by S. Maçon. *L'Histoire de Huit Ans*. A remarkable Article on Bunsen's *Hippolytus and his Age*. Lindsay's *Attacks on the Trinity House*. Montalembert's *Eglise Catholique*. The Prince and Queen read together the *Mémoires de St. Simon*, and Varnhagen von Ense's *Biographies*.'

CHAPTER XLVI.

The revival of trade, and the general prosperity of the country, greatly stimulated by the continued influx of gold from the recently discovered gold-fields of Australia, made themselves felt in London in a season of unusual animation and gaiety. The accounts which reached King Leopold seem to have made him fear, that this might involve a mischievous increase to the fatigue,—already sufficiently great, as he well knew,—which this busy time always brought to the Queen and Prince. Her Majesty, writing to him on the 1st of June, thus calms his apprehensions by explaining to what a very limited extent the Court took part in what are called the gaieties of the London season.

'Allow me just to say one word about the London season. The London season consists for us of two State Balls and two Concerts. We are hardly ever later than twelve o'clock at night, and our only dissipation is going three or four times a week to the play or opera, which is a great amusement and *délassement* to us both. As for going out, as people do here every night, to balls and parties, and to breakfasts and teas all day long besides, I am sure no one would stand it worse than I should.

'So you see, dearest Uncle, that in fact the London season is nothing to us. The person who really is terribly fagged during the season with business and seeing people so constantly is Albert. This often makes me anxious and unhappy.'

This year the season was brought sooner than usual to a close by the early prorogation of Parliament. By the end of June the Government had carried through all the measures of importance which they had proposed. The Militia Act was passed, New Zealand had received a Constitution, various important measures of legal and sanitary reform had been sanctioned. The Ministry, in appealing to the country were able to show that, although new to the work of administration, they had been neither remiss nor unskilful, so far as they had hitherto gone. On the 29th of June the Queen was able to announce to her uncle the approaching Dissolution of Parliament. It was by this time tolerably clear, and this is implied in Her Majesty's words, that men, not measures, would be the issue at the hustings. 'Our Parliament is to be prorogued on Tuesday and dissolved the same day by Proclamation. Lord Derby himself told us, that he considered Protection as quite gone. It is a pity they did not find this out a little sooner; it would have saved so much annoyance, so much difficulty.'

On the 1st of July Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person. 'I have been (as usual) much fagged,' the Queen writes to her uncle two days afterwards, 'these last few days, and shall be glad to find myself quietly established at our dear Osborne.' In the same letter Her Majesty speaks with much emotion of a loss to the family circle in the death, of which she had just heard, of Count Mensdorff, the Queen's and Prince's uncle by marriage.[1] 'I loved him dearly, and who that knew him did not?—and so did Albert, who knew him from his earliest years, and formerly saw much of him.'

[1] Count Mensdorff-Pouilly married Sophia, the eldest sister of the Prince Consort's father and of the Duchess of Kent. He emigrated from France at the time of the first Revolution, and attained high rank and distinction in the Austrian service. His sons were the intimate companions of the Prince's youth.

In a letter the same day from the Prince to the Dowager Duchess of Saxe-Coburg, he pays a striking tribute to this admirable man :—

'I intended to answer your dear letter of the 5th, and now, alas! on the contrary, must write you a letter of mourning and condolence. You, too, will shed many a tear for our dear uncle, for I know how much you loved and honoured him,—as how could you do otherwise? I cannot get his poor sons out of my mind, and how desolate and lonely they must be feeling. Here and there the phenomenon of a man of noble chivalrous spirit, like uncle Mensdorff, reconciles one to the world, which is so full of what is base, foul, and corrupt; and indeed without such men as he it would be unendurable.

'We go to the country to-day, where we hope to find summer at last. Parliament was prorogued and dissolved two days ago. The day before we had an interesting ceremony, the baptism of the Princess Gouromma, the eleven-year-old daughter of the Rajah of Coorg, an amiable intelligent Indian girl. Victoria was godmother, and will look after her education.[2] The father returns to India.

'The new elections begin forthwith, during which we shall remain quietly at Osborne. After my birthday we shall change to Scotland, where Balmoral, which we have hitherto only had on lease, is now our own property. Feodore [the Queen's sister] will come with her children to Mama [the Duchess of Kent], and stay with her at Abergeldie.'

A few days afterwards the Prince writes again to his stepmother:

'The lime-blossoms and oranges remind me terribly of

[2] This young Princess married a Scotch gentleman, a cadet of the family of the Campbells of Kinloch, and died young.

Gotha, where we commonly were in Friedrichsthal about the time of poor good grandmama's birthday.[3] Now how far behind us does all that lovely time already lie! And how many dear ones have departed from us!

'Our little ones prosper. We took four of them to sea last week on a little cruise to the south-west coast. Feodore comes here to-day with Ada and her son Charles, in company with Mama. I am delighted at the thought of seeing them again. But she, too, has sustained a bitter loss since her last visit to us;[4] and I fear there will be much to remind her of Elise!'

Meanwhile it had become apparent that the result of the elections would leave the balance of parties very much as before, with no decisive working majority on either side. Many of the most useful men, however, both Liberal and Conservative, had lost their seats. The Peelite party had most reason to complain, Mr. Cardwell, Lord Mahon, and Sir George Clark, being among the most conspicuous of their number who were for a time excluded from Parliament, while the Liberal side had to regret in Sir George Grey one of the ablest and most useful of their leaders. In England and Scotland the elections passed off quietly. But in Ireland they led in many places to scenes of violence and outrage, due in a great measure to the fierce religious animosity infused into them by the active intervention of the Roman

[3] 'I can,' the Prince writes from Osborne to the same correspondent on the 16th July, 1855, 'smell in spirit the perfume of the orange and lime blossoms, which must now be around you in sweet Friedrichsthal. . . . The nose is the organ which is capable of the strongest and most enduring recollections (so at least the psychologists teach), and I have four little orange-trees upon the terrace, and a pair of lime-trees in the park, which have not yet however taken it into their heads to blossom, that are intended to assist my nose in its mnemonic activity.'

[4] In the death of Elise, her eldest daughter, a highly-gifted girl, who died at Venice in 1851 of consumption, in her twenty-first year.

Catholic Clergy. At Cork, at Limerick, and Belfast, the military were called out to protect the voters and disperse the mob, and at Six Mile Bridge, in the County Clare, a troop, who were escorting the tenants of the Marquis of Conyngham to the polling booth, fired without orders, but not before they had themselves been nearly all severely injured, killing six of their assailants and wounding many more. The reports of the conduct of the priests, forwarded to the Government, spoke of them as not only preaching outrage and sedition from the altars, but as heading armed bands, stopping up the roads, helping to drag people from their beds, and in some instances knocking them down with bludgeons. So far was this carried, that the Lord Lieutenant (the Earl of Eglinton) felt it his duty to suggest, that one of the first steps of the Government in the new Parliament should be the appointment of Committees in both Houses to investigate the conduct of the priests, and the systematic intimidation practised by them.

In answer to a letter from the Prince in which he reported the results of the elections, Baron Stockmar writes (5th August):

'That I cannot gather from the papers the full scope and effect of the recent elections, is only natural. Some people, indeed, may think they know what they are driving at (*wohin sie sich halten*), and how they mean to vote, but the *mêlée* of the political struggle will enforce many modifications of their plans. If just now, when constitutional government is at a discount, English parties shall show stupidity or a bad spirit in dealing with real and universal English interests, I should be apprehensive an example of this sort would act injuriously upon the course of general European policy.

'Would your Royal Highness let me know what you think

as to the causes which have damaged the Peelites at the elections?

'That the priests in the Irish elections have gone all lengths is a lesson your Royal Highness ought *never* to forget. So it was of old, and so it will continue to be as long as there is a Pope. The worst point in the attitude of Protestantism towards Romanism is, that it cannot venture to be tolerant. Romanism, which denounces and excludes every other creed, and never surrenders the smallest tittle of its infallibility, forces Protestantism, for toleration's sake, into acts which are occasionally intolerant in fact, but more commonly have only the semblance of being so. The very resolution of the Protestants to resist, in defence of their own creed, the pretensions of Roman Catholicism, of itself places them on a downward slope, on which, in carrying out their practical measures, they descend rapidly into intolerance. There is no help for this, *and it is not Protestantism, but Catholicism, that is to blame.* Some centuries hence it may be different, but now my good Aberdeen seems to be quite on the wrong track in seeking to disarm the Pope by entire passiveness and toleration.

'*Theoretically tolerant* Catholicism, because of its fundamental principle, can never be,[5] but the Governments (Catholic and Protestant, the latter especially) can compel it to be *tolerant in practice.* But this presupposes, first, that the Catholic sovereigns cease to invoke the authority of the Pope in aid of their own supremacy; secondly, that Protestant princes, who have fallen into the same mistake, become

[5] Compare with this the following passage, in a letter by Baron Stockmar to King Leopold in June, 1857:—'No executive in the world can form a sincere and honest alliance with the vital principle of the Roman Catholic Church, and with the natural drift of this principle. This natural drift aims at the possession of exclusive power; and, once set it above all restraint, it will rush blindly on to life or death, even although not insensible to the risk it runs of losing upon occasion the stake for which it plays.'—*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 698.

convinced that in furthering Ultramontanism, they are guilty of treason to God, their people, and themselves.

'If the hero who will truly meet our wants is to arise for us in our poor old Fatherland, he must be master both of his Bible and his sword.'

Who can read this last sentence by the light of subsequent events, particularly from 1866 to the present time, without thinking of Stockmar as one of those in whom sagacity and 'old experience attain to something of prophetic strain?' In the same spirit we find him writing to a Prussian of high position two years later, after the Prussian Government had taken up an attitude of neutrality with reference to the Eastern Question, when, by making common cause with the Western Powers, they might not merely have prevented the Crimean War, but have asserted their independence of Russia with infinite advantage to their own future :—

'*A propos* of being a great Power, you must make up your mind whether you are and really wish to be one or not. Many will not allow, and for myself I do not believe, that you really are. But you aspire to being one, and, in my view, justly and of necessity, and the task before you is to work out this pretension and to give it reality, which you can only do by a successful war. . . . Away, then, with all attempts at neutrality, and give yourselves heart and soul to finding out how the war, which is essential for you, may be undertaken and carried on under the most favourable auspices for a happy issue! Everything else is mischievous, for it will only spin out for you an inglorious depressed state of existence, perhaps even lead to pitiable ruin.'—*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 685.

The stay at Osborne was pleasantly varied by several yachting excursions. Torquay, Dartmouth, and other places on the south coast were visited, and a day and a half spent in the enjoyment of the beauties of Mount Edgcumbe and the coast and river scenery near Plymouth. A short flight

to Belgium was projected, which the Queen, in writing to King Leopold (29th July), begs may be kept free of everything in the shape of state receptions. 'I hope you will take care that no dignitaries appear.' The visit was to have been preceded by a cruise to the Channel Islands; but many days of very violent storm made this impossible. On the 10th of August, however, it had abated sufficiently to enable the Royal yacht to run over to the Scheldt, which it had scarcely entered when the storm again broke out with fresh violence. Antwerp was reached at seven in the morning in a hurricane of wind and rain; and here the Royal visitors found King Leopold awaiting them, and set off at once with him to his country seat of Laeken. They remained there until the 14th, when the King returned with them to Antwerp, and, after visiting the Cathedral and Museum, they re-embarked for England. The same tempestuous weather, it will be seen from the following letter by Her Majesty to their late host, followed them on the return voyage:—

'18th August, 1852.

'Let me express to you my very warmest and most affectionate thanks for all your very great kindness to us all, and to the children, who intend to write to you themselves. It was a very happy dear time which we passed with you, and one which will ever be gratefully remembered by us all. The one 'melancholy feeling,' which you describe, was most painfully felt by me. I did not like, when with you, to sadden you by saying how dreadfully I missed our beloved Louise; what a yearning I had for her, and how impossible it seemed to me that she should not appear,—that she could not return. It was very sad for me—a sadness in the midst of so much happiness. Every one was so very kind, from the highest to the lowest. All our people have come back delighted.

'To return to my narrative of our voyage. They thought it best (which we afterwards regretted) that we should anchor for the night in the Scheldt, about eight miles from Flushing. We accordingly did so, intending to start the next morning at six, to go along the French coast, and on to Alderney; but the Sunday morning was so thick and wet, that Smithett quite positively refused to take us out. So there we had to stay. About twelve we went up to Flushing, and anchored off it for nearly three hours. We intended to land, and to try and see Middelburg; but the storm became so violent, and the swell so great, that we could not land, and had to return.

'We anchored close off Terneusen, and about five landed there, and took a drive in the most wonderfully primitive carriages without springs. It was very curious and interesting, for the people are, in dress and everything, just as they were two hundred years ago. The little town and the farmhouse where we visited, and where we were most kindly received, were for cleanliness not to be surpassed.'

Her Majesty's Journal gives in more detail the features of this old-world little town and its simple inhabitants:—

'The little town is very narrow, but most beautifully clean, the houses looking as though newly washed. The women's dress is very neat, peculiar, and ancient-looking. The colours of their handkerchiefs and jackets are very bright, their petticoats very full, of a thick woollen texture, coming directly out, as it were, almost from under their arms. Their little white caps and golden pins are very pretty and peculiar, as well as the way of arranging the hair in a curl on the forehead. The dresses altogether are like those of the time of James or Charles I. Young and old, and quite little children wear them. The dress of the men, though you see some ugly attempts at our modern dress, is likewise very characteristic.

The low and very small brimmed hat, the full leathern trousers with the belt, and large silver buttons and clasps, remind one of the German peasants, as indeed do the women also.

'We drove to one of the farms, a rich one, in the neighbourhood. The pilot went in to ask the owners, if we might look at their farm, and immediately they came out, and welcomed us most kindly. They were fine and striking specimens of the Dutch peasantry. The man, Peter Feiter, was a tall, very dark and handsome slim young man, dressed in the strict costume of the country, and the woman, his mother, was a very fine, tall, hearty old woman, the picture of cleanliness. Albert said, she reminded him of the Tyrolese women. They took us into their house, which was beautifully clean, and charmingly arranged,—all the walls covered with Dutch painted tiles. In the parlour everything was decked out. There were the dishes, the china, a handsome mahogany press, a large book with massive clasps, containing (as Lady Gainsborough thought, who looked into it) the pedigree of the family. They insisted on our sitting down and taking some fresh milk. The old lady brought out a number of smart glasses for the purpose, and, like the Scotch, seemed not satisfied that we did not take it all. They then showed us their cowsheds, which in the summer they fill with their corn, and afterwards a pretty garden.

'There were great dignity and independence in the deportment of the young man. A sister-in-law, with two little children, all in complete costume, joined us in the garden, and several other men, dressed in precisely the same way, came to the farm. There is a solidity and respectability about the people which was very striking; and, as well as their cleanliness, showed them at once to be Protestants. When travelling in Germany, I have observed the same difference between Protestant and Catholic villages, and in

the people's appearence. This is certainly the case with the Dutch; and though the Belgians are by no means dirty or slovenly in their appearance,—quite the contrary—still there is a great difference.

'It was a very interesting and pleasant little expedition, which seemed to take one back two centuries; but the return to the yacht in the barge was very disagreeable. It was very rough and wet, but our men pulled splendidly. Though blowing very hard and raining, they assured us it would be fine to-morrow, as the wind had gone to the north.'

For the remaining incidents of the voyage home we return to Her Majesty's letter:

'Monday morning was fair and calm, but the wind gone back to the south. We steered straight across to the French coast, and went quite close to Calais, in order that I might see it; after which we went across to Dover. At about four o'clock so thick a mist and fog came on, that they declared they could not go on; and we went into Dungeness, where we anchored for the night. Fortunately, however, yesterday morning was fine and clear, and at half-past four we got under weigh, and arrived here *sains et saufs* about one o'clock, finding a great swell on our beach on landing. . . .'

The recurrence of the Prince's birthday a few days afterwards elicited from the same graphic pen another letter of a deeper and more tender interest:—

'Osborne, 29th August, 1852.

'I cannot sufficiently thank you for the extreme kindness and affection of your two letters of the 25th and 26th, with the enclosure for my dearest Albert's birthday.

'I know well, dearest Uncle, that I and the nation are in a great measure indebted to you for the immense blessing of

having such a dear and admirable being as my husband! God knows, I feel how much too happy I am in possessing him, and how much more happiness has fallen to my lot than I had any right to expect, or than I deserve. He has indeed exceeded every expectation, for he is one in a thousand With the greatest modesty, gentleness, and sweetness, with the absence of every shade of selfishness, he possesses a powerful creative mind, with every requisite for our difficult times. And this nation does appreciate him, and fully acknowledges what he has done, and does do daily and hourly for the country.

'You will forgive my writing this, but he is your great favourite, a sort of child of your own, in whose success I know you take the greatest interest.

'We spent the dear day very happily, and he seemed much pleased with all we tried to do, to do him honour, and give him pleasure. The children exerted themselves very much to please their dear papa, and in the afternoon six of them represented some *tableaux vivants* very successfully.'

On the 30th of August the Court left Osborne for Balmoral, of which the Queen had now acquired the fee simple, taking Edinburgh by the way. Here the Prince was much amused by an interview which he had with a certain Italian Prince Massimo, 'who hoped,' says a brief entry in the Prince's diary, 'to convert England, the Queen, and the Prince to Catholicism.' A fuller account of what passed is given in *Bunsen's Life* (ii. 293) from his report of what the Prince Consort told him of the interview a few weeks afterwards. Prince Massimo, it seems,—

'Dwelt with much emphasis on the Queen's evident leaning (!) towards Roman Catholics, in spite of the persecution (!) which had been and still was exercised against them, and desired leave to present a little book, in which every possible objection against

the Church of Rome was "perfectly refuted." The Prince let him speak out, and then gave him strongly to understand a piece of his mind as to Romanism in general, and his and the Queen's opinion of it in particular; and concluded with requesting him to name a single instance of persecution in England, to which, as may be supposed, there was no reply ready.'

On reaching Balmoral (1st September) the Prince's first thought seems to have been about the improvements in the cottages on the estate. He records in his diary on the 2nd that he finds 'all the new cottages finished. The village much improved.' It had been decided to erect a new mansion-house on the estate, and no time was lost in fixing the site, and finally settling the plans, so that it might be proceeded with next spring. On the 3rd the Prince writes one of his playful notes to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg:—

'Balmoral is in full splendour, and the people there are very glad that it is now entirely our own.

'The deer were so polite as to show themselves yesterday close to the house in the sacred number of three. Whether from a reverential feeling on our part, or from boundless lack of skill, I know not, but three of us also, to wit, Lord Malmesbury, Col. Phipps, and myself, shot, like the Lord of Freudenfeuer at the Dragon, and missed them, each of the others twice, and I, as became my rank and station, four times.

'*Voilà les nouvelles du Village.* Not to go on longer playing the village gossip, I take my leave.'

It was at this time the tidings reached Her Majesty that a large fortune had been bequeathed to her by a Mr. John Camden Nield. 'It is astonishing,' the Queen writes (6th September) to King Leopold, 'but it is satisfactory to see that people have so much confidence that it will not be thrown away, and so it certainly will not be. I am very curious to hear, however, what led this old gentleman to do

it.' This information was furnished a few days after by one of the executors, Dr. Tatham, Archdeacon of Bedford, who came to Balmoral with the particulars of the Will. Mr. Nield was a barrister, a man of great learning, and even brilliant in conversation, but of the most miserly and penurious habits. A large fortune, to which he had succeeded on the death of his father, had accumulated in his hands, while he denied to himself all but the barest necessaries. If he had relations, he knew nothing of them, or they of him, and, thinking it could not be more worthily bestowed, he left his whole property, subject to a few small bequests, to the Queen.

Baron Stockmar acknowledges, in the following very characteristic letter (12th September) to the Prince, the receipt of this to him very agreeable intelligence :—

'The unexpected event announced in your Royal Highness's gracious letter of the 6th has cheered me in no ordinary degree. In this bright and contented mood I am determined to construe what has happened after my own fashion, not caring whether my construction be the right one or not, because in the one case it both vindicates my judgment and satisfies my humour, and in the other at any rate it cheers me up.

'In former days I have often laid it down as an axiom among my friends, that a great man can so bear himself as an absolute sovereign, that he will be loved enthusiastically by his people,—that a thoroughly human-hearted and right-minded man may, as a constitutional monarch, inspire his people with a feeling of reverence, which men have been here and there inclined, and may again, under certain circumstances, be inclined to concede to their spiritual, but not to their temporal rulers. In accordance with this axiom, the Will of Mr. Nield, to whom God grant a joyful resur-

rection! is a *monument reared to the Queen during her life* (*in lebendigem Leibe*) *in recognition of her simple, honourable, and constitutional career.*'

By the time this letter reached the Prince, tidings of a very different kind had thrown a gloom over his Highland holiday. A letter from Colonel Phipps had been received, (16th September) with the news, that 'the good grey head which all men knew' would no more be seen. The Duke of Wellington, to whom the Prince had paid a flying visit at Walmer Castle on the 10th of August on his way to Antwerp, had died two days before.

'My dear Colonel Phipps,—Your letter of yesterday evening found me this morning at rising. Although you said that the intelligence it transmitted had every appearance of being true, I confess we did not believe it, as the *Sun* is not a very creditable authority, and a SIXTH EDITION looked more like a last attempt to sell the stock on hand of an old paper in the streets.

'Your second note confirming the sad news found us at the Dhu Loch. We have hurried home and will be at Balmoral to-morrow for luncheon again. Like yourself I have of course some years anticipated the sad event, but cannot now realise it. That the old Duke should be no more is one of those truths which it will require a long time before one can believe. What the country has lost in him, what we personally have lost, it is almost impossible to estimate. It is as if in a tissue a particular thread which is worked into every pattern was suddenly withdrawn. The Duke was the link which kept us in connection with a century which has passed before us.

'Ever yours truly,

'A.

'Alt-na-Giuthasach, 16th September, 1852.'

'I am sure,' the Queen wrote next day to the King of the Belgians, 'you will mourn with us over the loss we and the whole nation have experienced in the death of the dear and great Duke of Wellington. We had gone on Wednesday to our little Shiel of Alt-na-Giuthasach to spend two days there, and were enjoying ourselves very much by the side of the Dhu Loch, one of the wildest spots imaginable, when one of our Highlanders arrived bringing a letter from Lord Derby, confirming the report which we had already heard of, but entirely disbelieved, and sending me a letter from Lord Charles Wellesley, saying that his dear father had only been ill a few hours and had hardly suffered at all. . . . He was the pride and good genius, as it were, of this country,—the most loyal and devoted subject, and the staunchest supporter the Crown ever had. He was to us a true friend and most valuable adviser. . . . We shall soon stand sadly alone. Aberdeen is almost the only personal friend of that kind left to us — Melbourne, Peel, Liverpool, now the Duke—all gone! . . . Albert is much grieved. The Duke showed him great confidence and kindness.'

The presence of Lord Derby at Balmoral as the Cabinet Minister in attendance upon the Queen was a fortunate incident, as the delay was thus prevented which might otherwise have taken place in filling the office of Commander-in-Chief. The Queen and her Prime Minister had without concert arrived at the same conclusion as to the military appointments consequent upon the Duke's death. All the arrangements were therefore promptly concluded. Many days after everything had been settled, the journals were busy with speculations as to the future Commander-in-Chief, in which the Prince Consort's claims to that position were freely canvassed. But on the 17th of September Lord Hardinge had already been informed by Lord Derby, that Her Majesty entirely concurred with him in thinking, that to no one else could the command

of the Army be so properly and so safely entrusted. The same day, Lord Fitzroy Somerset was requested to undertake the office vacated by Lord Hardinge, of Master-General of the Ordnance. By way of tribute to the memory of the late Commander-in-Chief a peerage was at the same time tendered for his acceptance as the officer with whom the Duke had been in the habit of the closest public and private intimacy.

In what terms the Prince announced the death of the Great Duke to his friend at Coburg, we can only conjecture. But we see his hand in the general order settled with Lord Derby, which was issued to the Army on the 22nd of September by Her Majesty's command, and especially in the following paragraph:

'The discipline which he exacted from others, as the main foundation of the military character, he sternly imposed upon himself; and the Queen desires to impress upon the Army that the greatest Commander whom England ever saw has left an example for the imitation of every soldier, in taking, as his guiding principle in every relation of life, an energetic and unhesitating obedience to the call of duty.'

From Baron Stockmar came back the following acute, and characteristically austere analysis of the Duke's character:

'That every man who stands so near the grave as I do must meditate often and seriously on Wellington's death, is natural. At my time of life people are distrustful, and consequently sceptical as to what in common life is called human greatness. Not that one in a general way would wish not to have it, or refuse to acknowledge it; but we want to know with more assured conviction wherein it consists, and of what it is made up?—what contributes most to its development—the qualities of the man himself, or the favour and potential action of the whole external world around? The answer to

this question is not so easy. The man whom the people's voice designates as great must first have performed many and important acts. Then, if destiny furnishes the opportunity for great and, humanly speaking, momentous actions, the masterly treatment of the opportunity so furnished becomes the affair and the merit of the individual man. In this way we get greater or great men, and of these Wellington was one.

'Here the question suggests itself, What are the qualities which enable the individual to grapple with great and momentous occasions with a master's skill? If we are to reply in accordance with what we were able to observe of Wellington as a man, what struck us as his most prominent characteristics, were a sound judgment of men and things, which was seldom mistaken, and a remarkable strength and firmness of character. On a closer inspection we see that his intellect was not many-sided and mobile, but with all its one-sidedness it was always clear and sound, so that although the principles which lay at the foundation of his character were not of the noblest kind, still they contained a good sprinkling of practical truth, justice, and honesty, and, where these exist, a certain sturdiness of moral organisation is early formed in a man, and is maintained undisturbed to the last. A less robust moral nature than Wellington's would have had to undergo great and perilous struggles with his native weaknesses, but in all the important relations of life he had the faculty of moderation and self-control, and through these he acquired the right, the vocation, and the capacity to manage with skill and success affairs of the greatest moment to his contemporaries. In other words, the times in which he lived brought him into contact with affairs on a grand scale and of profound importance, which, without losing his sense of self, he grappled with and settled with a patriotic fidelity that never wavered, and with results more than ordinarily happy.

'The real purport, put shortly, of this lengthy discourse was the wish on my part, that as the times we live in cannot fail to present your Royal Highness with great and worthy occasions to distinguish yourself, you should not shrink from turning them to account, *mutatis mutandis*, as Wellington did, for the good of all, yet without detriment to yourself.

'I need scarcely say that I am greatly pleased by your adherence to the resolution deliberately taken and put in writing on a former occasion, to decline the command of the Army.'

To this letter the Prince replied (6th October) as follows:

'Your view of the old Duke is based upon long observation and intimate knowledge of his character, and seems to me very striking. He is a fresh illustration of the truth, that to achieve great results, and to do great deeds, a certain one-sidedness is essential. That feature of his character, to set the fulfilment of duty before all other considerations, and in fulfilling it to fear neither death nor the devil, we ought all of us certainly to be able to imitate, if only we set our minds to the task.

'I enclose an extract from a speech of Lord John Russell's, in which he pays his tribute to the memory of the Duke, and to his place in history (*Bedeutung*). It is the best thing that has as yet been said in public here, excepting some quite admirable articles in *The Times*.[6] The country feels, in thinking of his death, that since his (the Duke's)

[6] No nobler panegyric has been pronounced on the Great Duke than a few sentences at the close of a now all but forgotten book, Southey's *Peninsular War*, iii. 296. These sentences at all events the world should 'not willingly let die.' 'There was something more precious than these' (his military successes), 'more to be desired than the high and enduring fame which he had secured by his military achievements, the satisfaction of thinking to what those achievements had been directed; that they were for the deliverance of two most injured and grievously oppressed nations; for the safety, honour, and welfare of his own country; and for the general interests of Europe and of the

generation it has declined in the Spartan virtues, and let itself be ruled too much, as the *Spectator* says, by Calico and Cant. "We honour in him," says that paper, "those manly virtues, but for the manifestation of which at an earlier period Calico and Cant would have had but a poor time of it."

'We need some of this manly virtue now, for we have still much to do, and it will still cost much before we can reach a state of perfect security against French invasion. Lord Hardinge is hard at work and has accomplished much at the Board of Ordnance during the last six months. The numbers of the Militia will soon be made up. . . .'

The letter from Baron Stockmar, in answer to which the following is a reply, has apparently not been preserved. But the Prince's language is noteworthy, as showing how thoroughly content he was to sacrifice all thought of personal ambition, and to have his best efforts ignored or even misunderstood, so that only they strengthened the Monarchy and raised the prestige of England:

'. . . Your appeal to me to replace the Duke for the country and the world shall stimulate me to fresh zeal in the fulfilment of my duties. The position of being merely the wife's husband is, in the eyes of the public, naturally an unfavourable one, inasmuch as it presupposes *inferiority*, and makes it necessary to demonstrate, which can only be done by deeds, that no such inferiority exists. Now *silent* influence is precisely that which operates the greatest and widest good, and therefore much time must elapse before the

civilised world. His campaigns were sanctified by the cause; they were sullied by no cruelties, no crimes; the chariot wheels of his triumphs have been followed by no curses; his laurels are entwined with the amaranths of righteousness, and upon his death-bed he might remember his victories among his good works.'

value of that influence is recognised by those who can take cognisance of it, while by the mass of mankind it can scarcely be understood at all. I must content myself with the fact that constitutional monarchy marches unassailably on its beneficent course, and that the country prospers and makes progress.

'Windsor Castle, 15th October, 1852.'

How, and with what accessories the last honours should be paid to the remains of the Great Duke, was among the first thoughts of Her Majesty on hearing of his death. He had himself left no instructions as to his funeral. Following the precedent in the case of Nelson, the Queen might of her own authority have given orders for a public funeral. But Her Majesty was anxious that this tribute of veneration should not emanate from the Crown alone, but that the nation should stamp the ceremonial with increased solemnity by a vote of its representatives, and thus associate her people with herself 'in paying honour to the memory of one whom no Englishman can name without pride or sorrow.' Parliament was not to meet till November, and in the meantime the body of the Duke was placed under the care of a Guard of Honour until the approval of both Houses should be obtained (which was done on the 11th November) to its being deposited 'at the public expense, and with all the solemnity due to the greatness of the occasion, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, there to rest by the side of Nelson—the greatest military by the side of the greatest naval chief who ever reflected lustre upon the annals of England.'[7]

More glorious tribute never closed a glorious life than was paid by the full heart of the nation when the day came

[7] The words quoted in the text are taken from a letter, made public at the time, by Lord Derby to Mr. Walpole, the Home Secretary, written from Balmoral on the 20th of September.

that saw the Great Duke laid, in accordance with this resolution, in his final resting place. All had been said of him in Parliament and elsewhere, that eloquence could draw from memory or imagination to do honour to his worth. But history will hereafter dwell with prouder emphasis on the triumph which that worth achieved in the spectacle of the myriads, who stood for hours under the chill of a grey, bleak November sky, to watch the long procession that attended 'the last great Englishman' to his tomb beneath the stately dome of the Metropolitan Cathedral, and a great silence, not unbroken by sobs, marked how deep and universal was the reverence for him, who had laid their country under obligations so deep by great deeds done and high example set.

Nor was England alone in the tribute thus paid to her illustrious chief. Every first-class State in Europe, except one, sent its representative to the funeral. That one was not France. On the contrary, its ruler, who might perhaps have been expected to hang back from joining in the last honours to 'the great World-Victor's victor,' was among the first to announce his intention to send a representative.[8] 'Honour, my Lords,' said Lord Derby, speaking in the House of Lords, the day after the funeral, 'Honour to the people who so well know how to reverence the illustrious dead! Honour to the friendly visitors—especially to France, the great and friendly nation, that testified by the representative their respect and veneration for his memory! They regarded him as a foe worthy of their steel. His object was not fame or glory, but a lasting peace. We have buried in

[8] When Count Walewski asked Prince Louis Napoleon, whether he was to attend the Duke's funeral, the Prince replied, 'Certainly: that he wished to forget the past, that he had every reason to be grateful for the friendly terms in which the late Duke had spoken of him, and that he wished to continue on the best terms with England.' This is reported in a private despatch at the time on the authority of M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

our greatest hero the man among us, who had the greatest horror of war.'

The Queen, who had watched the funeral procession from Buckingham Palace, as it passed from the Horse Guards towards Constitution Hill, and again from St. James's Palace, as it came down St. James's Street into Pall Mall, thus writes of the great event of that memorable 18th of November to her uncle, King Leopold. His children were at this time on a visit to the Queen, and his eldest son, the present King of the Belgians, witnessed the ceremony at St. Paul's:—

'Windsor Castle, 23rd November, 1832.

'You will have heard from your children and from Charles [Prince Leiningen], how very touching the ceremony both in and out of doors was on the 18th. The behaviour of the millions assembled has been the topic of general admiration, and the foreigners here all assured me, that they never could have believed such a number of people could have shown such feeling, such respect,—for not a sound was heard! I cannot say what a deep and wistful impression it made upon me! It was a beautiful sight. In the Cathedral, it was even much more touching. The dear old Duke, he is an irreparable loss!

'There is but one feeling of indignation and surprise at the conduct of Austria in taking this opportunity to slight England in return for what happened to Haynau because of his own character.'

Some there were, however, who remembering events yet recent, saw only a fitness in the absence of representatives from that country at the funeral of the Great General, 'whose campaigns were sullied by no cruelties, no crimes;' and who, 'on his deathbed, might remember his victories among his good works.'

CHAPTER XLVII.

Leaving Balmoral on the 12th of October, the Court reached Windsor Castle on the evening of the 14th. Their route was through Edinburgh, where they rested on the night of the 12th; proceeding next day, by way of Preston and Chester, to the Penrhyn Arms Hotel at Bangor, on the Menai Straits. Mr. Robert Stephenson's tubular bridge for carrying the Holyhead Railway across the Straits had just been completed, and the main object of this hurried visit to North Wales was to inspect this signal monument of engineering skill and daring. The Prince walked along the top of the tube, while the Queen drove through it, and they then went down to the sea level to inspect the work in all its gigantic proportions. 'Splendid' is the Prince's brief record in his journal of the effect produced. Both the Queen and himself were delighted to have another glimpse of the beautiful scenery of this part of North Wales, which a very fine day enabled them to see to advantage.

A few days after the return to Windsor Castle, the Prince was elected Master of the Trinity House, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Duke of Wellington. On the 2nd of November he took the oath of office, and at the same time Lord Derby was sworn in as an Elder Brother of the Corporation—an honour for which he had been recommended by the Prince. As usual with him, the Prince did not accept the position of Master as a mere honour, which involved no responsibilities. He made himself fully conver-

sant with the objects and duties of the Corporation. He went thoroughly into the question of the reforms that were introduced by the Government a few months afterwards, and he continued to the last to testify his interest in its prosperity by presiding at the annual banquets, which he made the occasion of some of his most memorable speeches. On the very first of these which he attended (4th June, 1853) some words fell from him, in proposing the toast of the Army and the Navy, which are the more interesting from the fact that he was at that moment using his utmost efforts to raise the effective strength of both arms, under the conviction, unhappily soon to be realised, that these would be put to severe trial at no distant day :—

'We are rich,' he said, 'prosperous, and contented, therefore peaceful by instinct! We are becoming, I hope, daily more civilised and religious, and therefore daily recognising more and more, that the highest use to which we can apply the advantages with which an all-bountiful Providence has favoured us is to extend and maintain the blessings of peace. I hope, however, the day may never arrive, which would find us either so enervated by the enjoyment of riches and luxury, or so sunk in the decrepitude of age, that, from a miserable eagerness to cling to our mere wealth and comforts, we should be deaf to the calls of honour and duty!'

It will give some idea of the multifarious nature of the Prince's pursuits, if we mention briefly a few of the subjects which engaged his attention within a few days of his return to Windsor Castle on the 14th of October. The next day he distributes the prizes of the Windsor Royal Association. On the 16th he meets Lord Derby, Lord Hardinge, Lord John Manners, the Duke of Norfolk, the Dean of St. Paul's, the Garter King at Arms, and the Secretary of the Office of Works, to settle the complicated arrangements for the funeral of the Duke of Wellington. On the 19th he is busy with negotiations for the purchase by the Exhibition Commissioners of land at

Kensington. Next day finds him engaged with Mr. Edgar Bowring in making the final corrections in the Report of the Committee of the Commissioners, as to the disposal of the Exhibition Surplus, a very elaborate and masterly document. The same day he has to master the general results of the Cambridge University Commission's Report, and to communicate them in his capacity of Chancellor to the authorities of the University. On the 22nd he settles with Mr. Henry Cole and Mr. Redgrave the design of the Duke of Wellington's funeral car. Two days afterwards, in a personal interview with Lord Derby, he goes into the details of the Government measures, which are to consist of an acknowledgment of Free Trade, Lightening of the burdens of Manufacture and Agriculture, Reduction of the Malt Tax, of the Duty on Tea, &c. On the 29th he presides at a meeting of the Exhibition Commissioners, at which he persuades them to adopt his plan for the disposal of the surplus, and to vote further funds for the land purchases. The same day he investigates the results of experiments made with Shrapnels at Woolwich upon his recommendation, and writes an elaborate paper to Lord Raglan on the subject. Again, a day or two afterwards, he discusses the South Kensington project with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and goes fully into the financial details of the question of National Defences; and then, passing from finance to art, settles with Sir Archibald Macdonald the music to be played at the Duke of Wellington's funeral.

These were only some of many additions to the usual routine of work involved in keeping pace with the course of public business, Domestic, Colonial, and Foreign, which the Queen and Prince regarded as their duty. With what thoroughness this was done has been already shown. But it may be further illustrated by a letter which the Prince wrote at this time to Lord Derby on the subject of the Irish

National Schools. In these the Prince had always felt the deepest interest. Aiming as they did at a purely national education, they were obnoxious to churchmen of extreme views, whether Protestant or Catholic. An agitation had been for some time on foot, which had in view to break up the system, and to substitute for it denominational schools subsidised by the State, but which would certainly not long have been allowed to remain under its supervision. Lord Eglinton writing to Lord Derby (21st October, 1852) had spoken of the system as 'the best which under the peculiar circumstances of the country could have been adopted,' adding that he believed its overthrow would be a grievous national calamity. 'The secular teaching,' he continued, 'is the best I ever saw; the religious books authorised by the Board are beautifully compiled; the establishments are generally well conducted, and the Bible may be read, though not expounded in the schoolroom, if the patron pleases; the children also having the option of retiring.' He deprecated proposing any change whatever; but suggested that the Government should avert the present danger by assenting to a Parliamentary inquiry into the working of the system.

In returning Lord Eglinton's letter, which had been submitted to the Queen by Lord Derby, the Prince wrote:—

'Windsor Castle, 26th October, 1852.

'My dear Lord Derby,—I return you Lord Eglinton's letter; which both the Queen and myself have read with great interest. We could not fail to be struck, as you were, with the dispassionate and judicious view which he takes of the system of National education. If he recommends, however, that nothing should be done on the part of the Government to disturb it, as any alteration could only lead to its disruption, which would place the Catholic children solely in the hands of the priests, surely a Committee of Inquiry

might also be avoided, as only tending to unsettle people's minds with regard to the stability of the system.

'If Lord Eglinton draws the conclusion from his statistics, that it has failed "*as a system of united education*," it would be necessary, before admitting this, to know the proportion of Roman Catholic and Protestant children in Ireland. 424,717 Roman Catholic children to 23,338 Church of England and 40,618 Presbyterian children attending the National Schools, does not appear to be at variance with the general proportions of the population.

'But the great national boon the system has conferred is not that it has given *united* education, but that it has given a *liberal and secular* education to the Roman Catholic population, which is beginning to tell upon their moral and religious state. This could only in fairness be attained by an *united* system, treating all religious parties and churches alike. If the Church of England withdraws her children, there is no harm in her educating them at her own expense, in her own way, particularly considering their small number, and if the bestowal of Church patronage can overcome the conscientious scruples of the opponents to the system in the Church, as Lord Eglinton seems to expect, even this need not be feared. But in reality, the system of education is infinitely superior to anything which the Church has ever given, with the exception of reading the Bible. This, however, is done in church, and may be done at home; it is better done when the mind is a little more matured. The importance of it is at the same time only properly recognised by an educated mind.

'P.S.—Look at the accounts in to-day's papers of the Miracle at Grenoble, fully credited by the Roman Catholics in England, and say, whether to educate the mind, irrespective of doctrinal differences, is not of the *first* importance.'

The wisdom of this advice has been shown in the steady

progressive increase of the numbers attending the Irish National Schools. Year by year these have risen, so that from somewhat over 500,000 in 1852, they amounted in 1875 to close upon 1,012,000. Of the latter number, 798,024 or 79 per cent. were Roman Catholics, 111,132 or 11 per cent. were Presbyterians, and 89,907 or 9 per cent. were of the English Church, while 8,608 or 8 per cent. belonged to other denominations,[1]—results most satisfactory in themselves, and showing a progressive improvement in the direction which the Prince would have desired.

The Queen's sister, the Princess Hohenlohe, had spent several months of the autumn in this country. Her fine intelligence and sweet serious nature placed her in intimate sympathy with the Prince. Every glimpse which her letters afford of one, who in his own intimate circle was frank, expansive, sympathetic, and habitually cheerful, while somewhat reserved and reticent in the aspect which he presented to the outside world, is of value in throwing light upon the Prince's character. The following letter to the Queen, written upon the return of the Princess Hohenlohe to her home in Germany, in addition to its interest on this account, has in itself the subtle charm which pure and deep feeling and natural grace of soul can alone give :—

'Langenburg, 3rd December, 1852.

'From here again I address a letter to you. If anything makes one feel the pace of time in its ever-revolving, even motion, it is coming back to a place you live much at after a lapse of some months spent in quite different scenes. All the old associations and feelings, painful and pleasant, drop in upon you, and show how years have passed on over your head; how the same things will recur again, only not leaving you the same; happily if not the same.

'Experience and knowledge of the world and of mankind must

[1] These figures are taken from the *Forty-second Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (for the Year 1875)*, Dublin, 1876.

have an influence upon opinions, views, and feelings, which gradually form the character of every individual. At least, I feel so. When some period of life has closed, I always know that some change has taken place for the better or the worse in me. This time I have that conviction more clearly impressed on my mind than on any other occasion.

'Living in England again, hearing and seeing so much that gave food for reflection, but above all being allowed to live with you and dearest Albert, hearing his opinion on so many subjects, has given a sort of firmness to my feelings, making clear to me what I was not quite sure of and decided about before, thanks to his clear notions and manner of expressing them. What a blessing for him and others! I must just copy out what Mr. Klumpp wrote to me some little time ago, and which is quite true:

'"Prince Albert is one of the few Royal personages who can sacrifice to any principle (as soon as it has become evident to them to be good and noble) all those notions (or sentiments) to which others, owing to their narrow-mindedness, or to the prejudices of their rank, are so thoroughly inclined strongly to cling. He knows right well that Princes live for the benefit of the people, and that the people must not be looked upon as the hereditary property of Princes. And happy is he for that conviction!"

'And this is not only a blessing in politics, but it gives a just estimate of every individual, and his rights and privileges as man! There is something so truly religious in this, as well as humane and just, most soothing to my feelings, which are so often hurt and disturbed by what I hear and see. To many it may be a matter of indifference, to me it is "*eine Lebensfrage!*" (a question of life and death).'

The results of the elections had falsified the hopes of Lord Derby, that they would increase the number of his supporters in the House of Commons. The relative strength of his friends, of the Whigs, the Peelites, and the Radicals, remained much the same as before. But the relations of some of these to each other had become materially altered. Attempts had been made by Lord Derby to secure the adherence to his Government of Lord Palmerston, and also of some of the

leading Peelites. It was in vain, however, that he avowed his intention of bowing frankly to the proclaimed determination of the country not to return to the principles of Protection, and pledged himself to propose no measure inconsistent with the financial system initiated by Sir Robert Peel. By doing so he merely discontented those who had attached themselves to him on the faith of his assurances to the contrary. The vague promises which were at the same time held out of compensation for Protection in some other form only made his position worse, for, while these promises did not conciliate the Protectionists, they quickened and kept alive the already sufficiently active jealousy of his opponents.

On the other hand, political convictions and personal feeling kept the Peelites aloof from himself and Mr. Disraeli, and drew them onwards to that alliance with the Whig party from which they had recently hung back, when courted to join the administration of Lord John Russell. In any new Government, they might claim under a new leader a more influential position than would at that time have been conceded to them; and out of such a combination as might be formed upon an alliance a Ministry could be constructed, which might be expected to command the permanent confidence of the country. If Lord Derby's Ministry fell, the elements of such a government were already in a state of approximation so close, that it might be considered all but certain they would gravitate without much difficulty towards a more intimate union. In fact, it was no secret, that even before Parliament met, the Liberal leaders had arranged their difficulties in anticipation of that event.[2]

Threatened men live long. Threatened Ministries in a minority do not. It was soon apparent, that Lord Derby's

[2] See letter from Lord Palmerston (17th November) to his brother (*Lord Palmerston's Life*, i. 377), in which he anticipates becoming Home Secretary, with the lead of the House of Commons.

held its position by a most precarious tenure. A series of resolutions affirming the adherence of Parliament to the doctrines of Free Trade, framed in terms studiously obnoxious to the party and the Government whose very name implied antagonism to them, was moved by Mr. Charles Villiers on the 23rd of November, within a fortnight of the meeting of Parliament. A motion of this character obviously struck at the very existence of the Government, and they were only saved from defeat by an amendment ingeniously framed by Lord Palmerston to save their feelings, while at the same time affirming the policy of unrestrained competition. The respite thus gained was not however of long duration. On the 3rd of December Mr. Disraeli introduced his Budget in a speech of conspicuous ability, which kept alive the attention of the House for five hours and a quarter. Its leading features were a reduction of the Malt Tax and of Excise and other duties, estimated at two millions and a half, a fifty per cent. increase of the House Tax, and a fifty per cent. decrease in the Income Tax on farmers' profits. The debate which ensued extended over four long nights, and was concluded, at four o'clock in the morning of the 17th of December, by Mr. Gladstone in one of his most effective speeches. It was one of the few famous displays of oratory that are reputed to have decided an issue which had before been doubtful. However this might be, the result of the vote was to place the Ministry in a minority of 19 in a House of 591 members. Within an hour Lord Derby wrote to the Queen, who was then at Osborne, announcing his resignation. 'He will never cease,' were the concluding words of his letter, 'to retain the deepest and most grateful sense of the gracious favour and support, which he has on all occasions received at your Majesty's hands, and which he deeply regrets that he has been unable to repay by longer and more efficient service.' The same evening he arrived at

Osborne, and formally placed his resignation in Her Majesty's hands.

The Queen felt that the time had now come for the formation of a strong administration, and for closing the unsatisfactory epoch of government upon sufferance, which had resulted from the disorganisation of parties since 1846. With this view she decided to call to her councils the two veteran leaders of the Conservative and Liberal parties, Lord Aberdeen and Lord Lansdowne. The latter was prevented by illness from obeying Her Majesty's summons, but a full and satisfactory understanding between Lord Aberdeen and himself was come to at a personal interview before Lord Aberdeen left town for Osborne. They both felt strongly that in the present juncture no private or personal feelings ought to stand in the way of the formation of a popular, efficient, and durable Government, composed of the representatives of Liberal and Conservative opinions. It was known, the Peelites would not serve under Lord Lansdowne, even had he felt justified by his state of health in undertaking the Premiership, which he did not;—still less were they disposed to act under Lord John Russell. Lord Aberdeen had, however, assured himself before leaving town that his friends were prepared to act along with these and the other leading members of the former Whig Government, and that Lord John Russell himself was prepared to fall into the ranks, taking the place of leader of the House of Commons. In these circumstances, Her Majesty had no hesitation in charging Lord Aberdeen with the formation of the Government.[3]

This was on the 19th, and it was not until the 28th that the new Ministry were able to kiss hands upon their

[3] At an interview with the Queen and Prince on the 18th December, a memorandum by the Prince records, that Lord Derby 'gave it rather jokingly as his opinion, that he thought less than thirty-two could hardly be the number of the new Cabinet, so many former Ministers would expect to be taken in. The Whigs said thirty-six.'

appointment, so many were the difficulties to be overcome, when there were fewer offices to fill, than able men with just pretensions to fill them. Whatever disappointments there might have been among the candidates for office,—and these were inevitable,—the public saw with no slight satisfaction that a matured statesman like Lord Aberdeen, in whose sincerity and high-mindedness implicit confidence might be reposed, had rallied round him a body of colleagues of large experience and proved ability, from whom a clear and well-defined policy, and the power to carry it into effect, might be expected. It was long since England had seen in one Cabinet such names as Lord Aberdeen, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Granville, Sir James Graham, Sir Charles Wood, and Mr. Sidney Herbert.

With what satisfaction Her Majesty looked forward to the future of such a Ministry, may be inferred from a few words in a letter of the 28th of December to King Leopold. 'The success of our excellent Aberdeen's arduous task, and the formation of so brilliant and strong a Cabinet, would, I was sure, please you. It is the realisation of the country's and our own most ardent wishes, and it deserves success, and will, I think, command great support. . . . It has been an anxious week, and just on our happy Christmas Eve, we were still very uneasy.'

'The state of the country,' says Lord Palmerston, writing to his brother-in-law on the 25th of December (*Life*, ii. 4), 'in all its interests, foreign and domestic, requires a Government as strong as there are elements for making it.' At what time does the state of the country not require this? At what time does the care of an empire so vast as that of England not demand, that those to whom it is entrusted should not be distracted from the higher duties of administration by having to think, from day to day, how to shape their measures

so as not to be outvoted? But at the time Lord Palmerston wrote there were urgent reforms wanted at home, and ominous clouds louring on the political horizon, which justified his remark in an exceptional degree.

The apprehensions of danger on the side of France, it is true, had in a great measure subsided. Amity with England, and a close political alliance, had been uniformly declared by its ruler to be his dearest wish. His interests were felt to lie all in this direction. His personal assurances of entire friendliness were cordial, and renewed at every convenient opportunity. However different might be the language of some of those about him, it carried little weight, for people had begun to perceive, that even those who seemed to stand highest in his confidence had no power to sway the determination of a character, inflexible in its adherence to the convictions it had worked out for itself. Louis Napoleon's whole policy during this year had been directed to assuaging the distrust of his intentions, which he knew to be entertained, and not unnaturally entertained, by the neighbouring Powers. France had hailed with satisfaction his assurances, that the conquests to which he aspired were those of peace. He spoke its cherished wish, when, addressing the Chamber of Commerce at Bordeaux upon the 9th of October, he said, alluding to the restoration of the Empire in his person, which was then imminent: 'Certain minds seem to entertain a dread of war; certain persons say, the Empire is only war. But I say, the Empire is Peace, for France desires it. I confess, however, that like the Emperor, I have many conquests to make. I wish to restore religion, morality, and opulence, to that still numerous part of the population which, though in the bosom of the most fertile country in the world, can scarcely obtain the common necessaries of life. We have immense waste territories to cultivate, roads to open, ports to excavate, rivers to render navigable, a system of railroads to

complete; we have opposite to Marseilles a vast kingdom, which we must assimilate to France; we have to bring all our great western ports into connection with the American continent by a rapidity of communication which we still want; lastly, we have ruins to restore; false gods to overthrow, and truths to be made triumphant.' This language,—the expression, as events proved, of a matured policy—though received by many with incredulity, was not without effect in calming apprehensions, which, at best, had had no stronger basis than conjecture.

When, soon after this declaration, the Imperial Dynasty was established by a Decree of the Senate (7th November), the new Emperor's motives for a peaceful policy became still greater. It was all important to him that his title should be recognised by the great European Powers, and that he should be acknowledged on a footing of equality by the other reigning Sovereigns. This he could only hope to be on giving pledges to respect the territorial boundaries of Europe as settled by existing treaties. These pledges were given; and in return his title as Napoleon III. was recognised by England, Austria, and Prussia, and their respective Sovereigns agreed to address him, like other Sovereigns, as 'Mon Frère.' England conceded the phrase 'Mon Frère' without a grudge. France had made Napoleon her Emperor, and was entitled to have the same courtesy in this respect shown to its chief as other nations. Austria and Prussia followed her example, although they held back for a time, from unwillingness to act except in concert with the Emperor of Russia, who absolutely declined to concede the 'Mon Frère,' and only consented with reluctance to acknowledge the new dynasty and its head. This obstinacy seemed the more out of place after the glowing language, which since the *coup-d'état* he had almost ostentatiously held towards the President, as the saviour of society from revolutionary havoc, and the restorer

of order and a form of government untainted by the constitutional element. Finding his Northern brother inflexible, the French Emperor did not press the point; but the refusal was not likely to be forgotten, either by himself or by the French nation. 'The coldness and tardiness of the Northern Power in recognising our new "Mon Frère," amazed him very much,' the Queen wrote (4th January, 1853) to King Leopold, 'and produces a bad effect in France. I don't think it is wise. Unnecessary irritation may produce real mischief. To squabble about how to call him, after having praised and supported him after the *coup-d'état*, seems to me very *kleinlich* (petty) and inconsistent, and I think our conduct throughout has been much more dignified.'

Although willing to acknowledge his position as Emperor, Napoleon had found that the reigning families of Europe were not disposed to forward his wish to ally himself with them by marriage. They were, however, as little prepared as the rest of the world for the announcement which he soon afterwards made in person to the Senate and Legislative Body, that 'frankly taking up before Europe the position of one who has arrived at fortune (*position de parvenu*), a glorious position when it is arrived at by the free suffrage of a great people,' he had selected a bride, who, like the Empress Josephine, was not the issue of a royal family, 'preferring a woman whom he loved and respected to one unknown.'[4] When, amid the clamour of sarcasm, scandal, and obloquy to which this announcement gave rise, it came to be known, which it soon was, that the Emperor was deeply in love with his wife, this fact seemed to furnish a fresh guarantee, that, if the peace of Europe were to be broken, it would not be by him.

[4] On the 31st of January Lord Palmerston writes to his brother: 'Napoleon's marriage seems to me a most sensible one. . . . I admire the frankness with which he declares himself a *parvenu*, and the assertion of that truth, however it may shock the prejudices of Vienna and St. Petersburg, will endear him to the bulk of the French nation.'—(*Life*, ii. 7.)

That rupture was to come from a quarter, where at this time it was least surmised, and before very long we were to find ourselves fighting side by side with the nation, against whose hostile intentions our preparations had for some time been directed. Meanwhile, the attention which had been attracted to the state of our naval and military forces had yielded good fruits. The country had supported the Government's efforts to place them on a satisfactory footing. The idea of a camp, in which the troops might be tested, had been taken up by the military authorities, on the suggestion of the Prince Consort. During February and March numerous sites were examined, and Chobham Common was ultimately selected, as best adapted for the purpose, being well supplied with springs, and the conformation of the ground offering ample scope for the operations of mimic warfare. The idea of a permanent camp of instruction was also pressed upon the Government by the Queen and Prince, and resulted in the determination at a later period of the year to acquire the tract of land which is now occupied by the Aldershott Camp.

On the 10th February Parliament re-assembled. Two members of the Ministry, Sir James Graham (First Lord of the Admiralty) and Sir Charles Wood (President of the Board of Control), had recently spoken at the hustings of the Emperor of the French with a virulence of invective not likely to advance the friendly understanding with France which the Ministry professed their anxiety to cultivate. The opening thus afforded drew from Mr. Disraeli, in a speech on our relations with France, a series of pungent criticisms, which lost none of their point from a feeling of natural soreness at the part these gentlemen had played in bringing about his recent defeat. But after this time the debates in both Houses happily lost much of the acrimony of personal and party hostility by which they had been marked for many years,

and Parliament settled down, in a fair and candid spirit, to the discussion of the weighty measures which were brought before it. The result was, that a mass of legislation, wholly unusual in amount as well as in value, was initiated and successfully carried through by the Government.

Early in April Mr. Gladstone brought forward his Budget in a speech which raised even higher than before the estimate of his great oratorical powers, and at the same time revealed financial sagacity unexampled since the days of Sir Robert Peel. He had a surplus of nearly two millions and a half to deal with. Nevertheless, knowing that, with affairs in the East in a very precarious state, it was not well to part with so ready a means of meeting any sudden war emergency, Mr. Gladstone proposed to retain the Income Tax for the next two years at its then rate of 7*d.* in the pound, on incomes above 150*l.* At the same time he extended the tax at the rate of 5*d.* to incomes between 100*l.* and 150*l.* Ireland, now well out of her difficulties, was for the first time charged with the tax, relief being at the same time given to her from Consolidated Annuities to the extent of 4,500,000*l.* Real property was brought to the same level with personal, by the imposition of a duty on heritable succession, from which it had hitherto been exempt. On the other hand, remissions of the taxes on life insurance, on receipt and other stamps, and also of the duty on advertisements, estimated at no less than 5,384,000*l.*, were announced; and the whole comprehensive scheme was in the end carried without amendment by a majority of no less than 71 in a House of 575 Members.

The India Government Bill introduced by Sir Charles Wood was the forerunner of the still more important changes, which more advanced reformers were already advocating, and which were to be brought about by the force of events a few years afterwards. It had, however, the merit of providing that the immense and lucrative patronage of civil employ-

ments in India should for the future be opened to free competition. The measure for the Removal of Jewish Disabilities, though again defeated in the Lords, was advanced a step towards ultimate success. The metropolis profited by the energy and practical sense of Lord Palmerston at the Home Office in legislation to put down smoke nuisances, to purify the Thames, and to establish a complete system of Metropolitan drainage. In numerous other measures of importance the Ministry proved that there was no real ridicule in the old nickname of 'All the Talents,' which was revived for their benefit. Its leading members vied in doing good work in their several departments; and, although the Cabinet contained an ex-Premier, not wholly reconciled to a second place, and another Premier in expectation in the person of Lord Palmerston, it worked on harmoniously to the close of a laborious session, which came to an end only on the 20th of August. There were, however, breakers ahead. 'We may have some difficulty next year,' Lord Palmerston writes on 3rd April, 'about Parliamentary Reform, but enough for the year are the troubles thereof. As yet, nothing can be more harmonious than our Coalition Cabinet.'—(*Life*, ii. 11.)

In the early part of this year the Prince commenced a work, in which he took great interest down to the close of his life. Of all painters he chiefly admired Raphael, and he conceived the idea of bringing together, in connection with the fine series of Raphael drawings already existing in Windsor Castle, a collection as complete as could be made of copies, either in photography or engraving, of every known drawing or completed work of the great painter. No artist of whose mode of working we have any record bestowed more labour in the preparation of his great works than Raphael. Happily an unusual number of his studies and sketches have been preserved. While we see in them that side of his genius which consisted of the habit of taking infinite pains, we can at the

same time trace the varying impulses of inspiration which culminated in his greater masterpieces. It need not be said, therefore, that the collection projected by the Prince was sure to prove of extraordinary interest to all students of Art, especially if carried out to the completeness at which he aimed. To the last it was to him an object of never-failing interest and pleasure. When he died, the collection was still unfinished. Since then it has been carried, under the directions of Her Majesty, as far as it is possible to carry it, and now forms one of the many treasures of Art, that enrich the Royal Library at Windsor Castle.[5]

Many of the treasures, of which that most regal of castles is the home, were placed in great danger on the 19th of March of this year. The Court had arrived there that day for the Easter holidays. About half-past ten at night a fire broke out in the dining-room, in the north-west tower of the Castle, and close to rooms which contain furniture and works of Art of extreme value and importance. 'Though I was not alarmed,' the Queen wrote to King Leopold, two days afterwards, 'it was a serious affair, and an acquaintance with what a fire is, and with its necessary accompaniments, does not pass from one's mind without leaving a deep impression. For some time it was very obstinate, and no one could tell whether it would spread or not. Thank God, no lives were lost!'

How serious the consequences to the Castle itself might have been may be seen by the following letter of the Prince to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg two days afterwards:—

'I believe I still owe you an answer to your dear letter of the 25th ult. The object of these lines is to transfer this debt to you, and to set your mind at rest as to the probably

[5] A *Catalogue raisonné* of this collection, commenced by Dr. Rulandt, continued by the late Mr. Woodward, and completed by Mr. Holmes, the Librarian of Windsor Castle, has been printed by Her Majesty's command.

much exaggerated reports of the fire here. Victoria is quite well, and has suffered absolutely nothing from the agitation, into which we were naturally all thrown by the danger. We had to battle with the flames from ten at night till four in the morning before we got them completely under; nevertheless the injury was confined to one tower of the Castle, which has been gutted by the flames through four stories. Had the fire got beyond the tower, it would have been impossible to save the Castle. As it is, the beautiful dining-room is the principal loss. The ladies remained in the drawing-room hard by the whole night, and were very calm and self-possessed.'

Mazzini and Kossuth were at this time in England, and making no secret of their designs upon Austria. Many leading revolutionists of France and other countries were also lightening the bitterness of exile among us by the strong speeches which men in such circumstances may be expected to make. Milan had lately been in insurrection, and an attempt to stab the Emperor of Austria on the ramparts of Vienna (18th of February) had all but succeeded. Fresh plots were known to be on foot, and Austria, backed by Russia and by France, had again pressed upon the English Government the question of the expulsion of the revolutionary Refugees. The Prussian Government also seem at this time to have been disposed to join in these reclamations, and to this the Prince alludes in the remaining portion of the letter:

'You too seem to be smitten by the Refugee fever. The difficulty here arises solely from the fact, that the English subject is a free man, on whom the Government can impose no penalty and no restraint of any kind, so long as he does not violate the law,[6] and his guilt has not been judicially

[6] A few weeks afterwards (13th April) the Government showed that they would allow Austria no real ground of complaint on the score of connivance

proved, and that strangers when they set foot upon English ground enjoy all the rights of English subjects. This is not so bad a state of things, after all, and might be imitated even upon the Continent with advantage. Now the question, not so easy to answer, is asked, have the Refugees here caused the Milan Revolution, and the Vienna attack upon the Emperor's life? This must be proved, before we can punish; and, if it be proved, we shall punish them according to the laws of this country, and, luckily for us, we live under laws, and not under despotism. . . .'

In his next letter to his stepmother, the Prince was able to convey the more pleasant tidings of the birth of a fourth son on the 7th of April at Buckingham Palace. The Queen made a rapid recovery, and was able within a few days to report her convalescence to her uncle at Brussels in the following letter:

'Buckingham Palace, 18th April, 1853.

'My first letter is this time as last time addressed to you. Last time it was because dearest Louise, to whom the first announcement had heretofore always been addressed, was with me. Alas! now—!

'I can report most favourably of myself, for I have never been better or stronger. Stockmar will have told you, that Leopold is to be the name of our fourth young gentleman. It is a mark of love and affection, which I hope you will not disapprove. It is a name which is the dearest to me after Albert's, and one which recalls the almost only happy days of my sad childhood. To hear "Prince Leopold" again will make me think of all those days! His other names will be George, Duncan, Albert; and the sponsors the King of Hanover, Ernest Hohenlohe, the Princess of Prussia, and

at plans injurious to its Government, by seizing the contents of a Rocket Factory at Rotherhithe, where an extensive manufacture of rockets was being carried on by a Mr. Hales for delivery to M. Kossuth and his friends.

Mary Cambridge. George is after the King of Hanover, and Duncan is a compliment to dear Scotland.'[7]

By the 23rd of April the Queen had recovered sufficiently to be able to go to Osborne, and the Prince writes: 'To-day we hope to be able to go for a week to Osborne, where Victoria may get rest and good air, before the season with its turmoil begins. I am myself by no means displeased that we are going.'

[7] The young Prince was not baptized till the 28th of June, when the ceremony was performed at the Chapel in Buckingham Palace, and the sponsors named by the Queen were present in person.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The Queen and Prince were enabled by the rising of Parliament for the Easter recess to prolong their enjoyment of the 'rest and pure air' of Osborne until the 27th of May, when the Court returned to London. During this period the Eastern question, which was so soon to become the all-absorbing topic of the time, had assumed a very serious aspect, all the more serious in the eyes of the Queen and Prince, that the views of some leading members of the Cabinet as to the proper mode of dealing with it had begun to show signs of divergence, which unless reconciled might lead to the breaking up of the Ministry.

On the 4th of June the Prince presided for the first time at the annual dinner of the Trinity House, and in proposing the toast of Prosperity to the Corporation, referred to various important changes in its constitution, which had been some time before discussed and settled by himself with Sir James Graham as representing the Government. A few days afterwards (14th June) the first instalment of troops marched into the camping ground at Chobham, and took up their quarters there. The land had been previously levelled and prepared for them by the Sappers and Miners, who had dug wells, and put up the more substantial structures for their use. The punctuality, the precision and celerity with which the various brigades, coming from different points, arrived upon the ground, and established themselves in a line of tents extending over upwards of two miles, were the subject of general

admiration. Next day the Prince went down in plain clothes with the Duke of Cambridge, and inspected the arrangements in detail. This was preliminary to a first trial of field operations, to take place in the presence of the Queen on the 21st. Early on the morning of that day the Queen and Prince, together with the King of Hanover and the Duke of Coburg, were upon the ground. The Queen on horseback, in a military riding habit, rode with the Prince and her royal guests down the lines, and afterwards witnessed the manœuvres from a neighbouring height. Upwards of a hundred thousand people shared in Her Majesty's enjoyment of what was in truth a singularly beautiful spectacle—a well-contested, though bloodless battle, over ground broken by hollows, streams, marshes and woods, which showed to the greatest advantage the shifting 'currents of a heady fight.'

On this occasion the Prince took no part in the operations. But his heart was too thoroughly in the work which the camp was meant to effect, for him to abstain from taking an active share in its military duties. Accordingly, on the 24th, he returned to Chobham for this purpose, and, as the following letter to the Queen shows, saw camp life under one of its rougher aspects:—

'I have this moment received your dear lines. Yesterday evening was very fine and warm, but in the course of the night there was a dreadful storm, which made the tents seem almost like cabins at sea. It has been raining since five, and it looks very doubtful whether it will cease. Still, at this moment, there is a lark singing, which is a good sign. About nine we shall have to turn out; I will join my brigade (Guards). The Staff dined with me yesterday, and I walked with George [Duke of Cambridge] till half-past ten.

'The tents are convenient, but both damp and hot during

the night. I am delighted that you got through your day so well. To-day will also run away. Now I say,—

'"Du, Du liegst mir im Herzen,
Du, Du liegst mir im Sinn,
Du, Du machst mir viel Schmerzen,
Weisst nicht wie gut ich Dir bin."

'Your devoted,

'A.

'Camp at Chobham, 25th June, 1853.
'Seven A.M.'

The sign of improving weather in the lark's song, which was not likely to escape so accurate an observer as the Prince, proved so far true, that the troops were able to manœuvre for four or five hours, the Prince taking the command of the Brigade of Guards. He returned the same evening to town, bringing back with him a cold, to complicate a very severe attack of measles, which developed itself a few days afterwards. The Prince of Wales had sickened with this malady a few days before, and one by one it attacked all the other Royal children, with the exception of the two youngest, and finally the Queen herself. The Prince suffered most severely, and at the climax of the illness showed great nervous excitement. The subtle infection spread to Her Majesty's guests, the young Crown Prince of Hanover and the Duke and Duchess of Coburg; the latter of whom were the unconscious means of transmitting it to the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Flanders, whom they met when on their way back to Coburg, and before they were themselves aware that they had taken the seeds of the illness from England with them.

This illness prevented the Prince from again taking an active part in the military duties of the camp, and the Queen and Prince were unable to repeat their visit to it until the 4th of August, by which time a fresh body of

troops had taken the place of its original occupants. A brilliant series of manœuvres was performed on that day under Her Majesty's eye, and, as the best of treats which could be devised for Prince Alfred on his birthday, the Queen and Prince returned to the camp on the 6th, taking with them the four eldest Royal children. On the 20th it broke up, having proved a complete success and a valuable preparation for the active operations to which the troops, that had taken part in it, were soon to be called. What special reasons the Queen had for the deep interest which she had shown in this novel experiment may be gathered from the following passage in a letter to King Leopold, written at Osborne on the 10th of August:—

'We went twice more to our dear (as I call it) camp, and had two interesting days there. It has been most successful, and the troops have been particularly well all the time. When I think that this camp, and all our large fleet, are without doubt the result of Albert's assiduous and unceasing representations to the late and present Government, without which I fully believe very little would have been done, one may be proud and thankful; but, as usual, he is so modest, that he allows no praise. He works for the general good, and is sufficiently rewarded when he sees this carried out.'

The same day the Prince writes from Osborne to Baron Stockmar, who, after spending the winter and spring in England, had returned to Coburg:—

'We returned here yesterday evening; be it my first task this morning to acquaint you with the fact. The week in town was a thorough racket. We spent two days in the camp at Chobham, where the second division was as fine as, if not *finer* than, the first. The concourse of spectators on both occasions was immense and the weather splendid. I presided at a Fine Arts Commission, at a Committee for

calling the Wellington Testimonial (a school for the orphans of officers) into life, and at a Committee of the Exhibition Commission for the preparation of the Act of Parliament for next year to carry out my scheme for the application of the surplus.

'We had a Council the day before yesterday; then I arranged all my papers, and packed them for the winter for here, Dublin, Scotland, and Windsor, saw a host of people, who had all *something* to say. To crown all, came the visits of the Grand Duchesses, of the Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Würtemberg and the Duchess of Leuchtenberg. The two ladies seem to have been deeply impressed by England, and were quite amazed at the warlike feeling against Russia, which within the last few weeks has risen to such a pitch, that even Aberdeen said to me, "If the affair had not been settled by the Emperor's acceptance of our Note, I don't think that even I should have been allowed to keep peace." They have been still more surprised to find, that no reliance is placed upon their father's word! All these impressions can only work for good.

'The acceptance of the Vienna Note will now, let us hope, put an end to the dispute; the evacuation of the Principalities will, however, be regarded by us as a preliminary *sine quâ non*. Louis Napoleon appears to have been straightforward (*ehrlich*) throughout the whole transaction, even where his Ministry suffered themselves to be misled by vanity and doctrinaire nonsense into kicking a little over the traces. The Emperor Nicholas has now quite gratuitously made for him the position which originally he wished to withhold from him with the "Mon Frère," and has forced us into an alliance with him.

'To-morrow we have a review of the Fleet outside the Island. The finest fleet perhaps which England ever fitted out, forty ships of war of all kinds, all moved by steam-

power but three, is assembled at Spithead; one hundred steamboats with spectators are expected. We shall review them from the *Victoria and Albert*. The three Grand Duchesses, the Crown Prince of Würtemberg, and the Duke of Mecklenburg are to be there, as also the Prince of Prussia, to whom we have sent an invitation at Ostend, and who will arrive here to-day about three. If the weather continue as fine as it is to-day, the spectacle will be superb.'

The day was fine, and the spectacle was superb. The eyes of all England were turned to it. Such a muster of Naval Force had never been brought together, and from far and near thousands flocked to see, whether what had been rumoured of it was true, and if England were indeed in a condition to maintain her inviolability, and to assert her supremacy on the element where her chief strength had always been centred. Provision had been made for enabling the members of both Houses of Parliament to see the Review under the most favourable conditions, and the presence of what was in effect the House of Commons, with the Speaker at their head, on such an occasion, was a new phenomenon in Parliamentary history.[1] The stately spectacle of the Royal yacht, leading the way between and slightly in advance of the two divisions of the fleet—and such a fleet—was a sight never to be forgotten; no more than the appalling grandeur of the fire, kept up for many minutes along the imaginary line of battle, nearly three miles long, in resistance to the mimic attack which had been arranged to provoke their thunder.

With justifiable pride the Prince thus reports the proceedings of the day to Baron Stockmar:—

'I long to hear something of you, but as this satisfaction

[1] The House of Commons had resolved to meet on the 11th at the unusual hour of 10 P.M.; but it was half-past eleven before the attendance of the requisite number of Members enabled the Speaker to take the chair.

is denied me, I will at least give you some tidings of ourselves.

'The great naval review has come off, and surpassed all that could have been anticipated. The gigantic ships of war, among them the *Duke of Wellington* with 131 guns (a greater number than was ever before assembled in one vessel), went, without sails, and propelled only by the screw, *eleven miles an hour*, and this against wind and tide! This is the greatest revolution effected in the conduct of naval warfare which has yet been known. Steam as well as sailing vessels will of necessity be cast aside as useless, and men-of-war with the auxiliary screw will take their place. This will cost a great deal of money till the change is effected, and render many fleets, like the present Russian one, useless. We have already sixteen at sea and ten in an advanced state. France has no more than two, and the other Powers none. On Thursday, 300 ships and 100,000 men must have been assembled on one spot. The fleet carried 1,100 guns and 10,000 men. The weather, moreover, was magnificent, and the impression which the spectacle presented sublime. I write all this, because last autumn we were bewailing our defenceless state, and because you know, that without wishing to be *mouche de coche*, I must rejoice to see that achieved which I had struggled so long and hard to effect.

'We are daily expecting decisive intelligence from Petersburg; the first step towards a peaceful solution has been made in the acceptance of the Vienna Note. The anxieties which have been expressed, that the Principalities would not be evacuated, I regard as groundless. The Emperor is certainly excited, out of humour, and out of health. . . .

'I still suffer a good deal from rheumatism in the right shoulder, which makes even writing difficult.

'Alexander Mensdorff is expected here in an hour. Prince

Adalbert of Prussia is in Portsmouth, and will come to us to-morrow for Mama's sixty-seventh birthday. A thousand good wishes for yours, which falls between Mama's and mine. I wish for *myself* absolute, or even only Constitutional supremacy over your health—you would be well content with the result.

'Osborne, 16th August, 1853.'

A few days brought the following reply from the Baron to two of the Prince's earlier letters :

'I have to thank your Royal Highness for two communications. My first impulse is to express my gratitude and joy at the recovery of so many from the measles, for it is not every epidemic of this kind that comes in so mild a form.

'As men can learn from all the incidents of life, so we have learnt from what has just occurred—first, the subtlety of the infectious influence in various and most instructive ways, and, secondly, the difficulty and futility of all precautionary measures.

'That the man who is not accustomed to reflect (to philosophize and study himself) shall frequently appear to himself more independent than he is, is natural. He does not see the ties by which he is bound because he does not open his eyes. So it may have been with the Emperor Nicholas in reference to Turkey. He did not see how fettered he was by the circumstance that he wished to be a principal and influential member of European society. If he wishes to maintain this position, he must forego playing the barbarian in Turkish affairs. That this is so will now become gradually clear to him, and he will by and by adopt a more temperate course. If, through the line of policy he has adopted, occasion has been given for Napoleon to prove himself politically honest, then out of this evil good has come.

'I am well pleased that the ladies should be present at the

manœuvres of the fleet. For what the eyes see, that does the heart believe, and with what that is full of the mouth will overflow in letters to St. Petersburg. I am still more pleased that the Prince of Prussia should be there; he will see for himself England's power, and comprehend that, under certain circumstances, this will prove of immense importance to Prussia. He will have his eyes opened as to what Russia can do, and learn to discriminate more justly between the States in which there is organic vitality, and those which are animated solely by the breath of arbitrary caprice.

'Wildbad, 14th August, 1853.'

From the Prince's reply we gather, that it is quite possible for a Cabinet to be too strong. There, as elsewhere, 'two stars keep not one sphere,' and to follow, where one has long been in the habit of leading, demands an all but impossible power of self-denial. At this time, too, the Prince's attention had not been called to the full significance of the Vienna Note, which in his former letter he had mentioned as furnishing a basis for the amicable settlement of the Eastern question. At Constantinople the Note was better understood, and the Porte, as the Prince afterwards was the first to recognise, had done well in refusing to accept what would have involved a fatal concession to Russian demands.

'Your letter of the 14th has given me great pleasure, and I thank you for it from my heart.

'Here we have advanced a step, that is to say, Parliament is prorogued at last. Aberdeen was here for three days and not very well, yet full of spirit and hopefulness. A cause of anxiety, however, has arisen in this, that Lord John . . . seems dissatisfied with his position, as we all foretold to him he would be, and *I believe* has proposed that his chief shall retire, and make over the Premiership once more to him, or

that he will himself withdraw into private life. In either way he would destroy what has cost us so much pains to construct, and has borne such magnificent fruits for the country; for at no time has there been a result like that produced by the last sitting of Parliament, and the country is proud of it. Now comes the Reform question! Lord John has gone to Scotland, and will not return till October. "November will be time enough to consider the Reform measure," he said to Lord Clarendon. "I am for making it as Conservative as possible, and that by a large extension of the suffrage; the Radicals are the 10*l.* holders, the 5*l.* holders will be Conservative, as they are more easily acted upon!"

'In the East we are still menaced with danger. Lord Stratford seems anxious that the Porte should refuse to accept the Note of the four Powers. . . . In Petersburg the Notes have been eagerly caught at, and they seem glad that a bridge has been found over which their retreat can be effected; still they would prefer, that commotions in Turkey led to an intervention for purposes of protection on the part of the Emperor, and continue to believe in the rapid dissolution *de l'homme mourant.* We naturally do not desire this, and see no safety but in a rapid solution of the imbroglio.

'Osborne, 24th August, 1853.'

Another Royal visit to Dublin had been projected for this year. It had been intended originally to time it for the opening of a great Art and Industrial Exhibition in Dublin in July. This was the first of the Exhibitions established upon the model of that of 1851, and the native enterprise and public spirit, which had brought it to a successful bearing, naturally made both the Queen and Prince feel a warm interest in its success. The illness, of which mention

has already been made, prevented this intention being carried out at the time first contemplated. It was, however, determined to make the visit on the way to Balmoral, at the end of August. Accordingly, on the 27th of that month, the Court went by railway to Holyhead. They were detained there by a violent storm until the morning of the 29th, but the delay was turned to account by the Prince in inspecting, along with Mr. Rendel, the engineer, the gigantic works then in progress for converting this port into a Harbour of Refuge, and in visiting the Stack Lighthouse with some of the Trinity Brethren, whom he found at Holyhead, on their tour of lighthouse inspection.

By eight o'clock next morning Kingstown Harbour was reached, and the Royal guests, as they made their way to the Viceregal Lodge through what now seemed the familiar streets of Dublin, were greeted with an enthusiasm almost beyond that which had welcomed them four years before. 'The morning,' the Queen notes, 'was fine and bright, and the scene gay and animated.' A state visit was paid to the Exhibition next day. Its general arrangement brought up agreeable recollections of its great prototype of 1851. 'Everything was well conducted,' says the same record, 'and the people most kind.' Through 'deplorable rain,' the Queen and Prince paid a visit the same day to Mr. Dargan, at whose sole expense the Exhibition building had been constructed. His demeanour is noted as 'touchingly modest and simple. I would have made him a Baronet, but he was anxious it should not be done.'

The morning of each day was devoted to the Exhibition, and every visit showed it to be even more complete and more interesting than had been anticipated. The products of Irish industry were found to be most attractive,—their poplins, lace, and pottery in particular. 'By the novel process of hatching salmon, exhibited here for the first time,' the

Queen writes, 'Albert was especially interested, as he is by every new and useful discovery.' The greater inclination of the people to apply themselves to industry is strongly dwelt upon in Her Majesty's Journal. 'For this,' it says, 'the Exhibition will be of immense use. It has raised the feeling of the people, showing them that they can succeed. Mr. Dargan's own history they are likewise inclined to study and reflect upon. This is very satisfactory.'

So thoroughly had the Royal guests been made to enjoy their visit, despite a week of wretched weather, that they looked forward to its close with regret. It was fixed for the 3rd of September, under which date Her Majesty writes: 'A beautiful morning, and this the very day we are going away, which we felt quite sorry to do, having spent such a pleasant, gay, and interesting time in Ireland. . . At half-past five we started for Kingstown. We drove gently, though not at a foot's pace, through Dublin, which was unusually crowded, (no soldiers lining the streets,) to the station, where again there were great crowds. In eight minutes we were at Kingstown, where again the crowds were immense, and most enthusiastic. The evening was beautiful, and the sight a very fine one—all the ships and yachts decked out and firing salutes, and thousands on the quay cheering.' As night closed in, a magnificent aurora borealis lighted up the northern sky, while from the land, fireworks were let off until a late hour. 'It was a gay, fine evening, and,' as heard from the Royal yacht as it lay in the harbour, 'the hum and singing and noise made by the people made one fancy oneself in a foreign port in the South.'

By the 6th of September, the Court reached Balmoral. After his recent illness, the bracing air of the Aberdeenshire highlands was peculiarly welcome to the Prince, and for some days he gave himself up to its enjoyment. On the 12th he writes to Baron Stockmar :—

'Dear Stockmar,—You shall have a letter to-day by anticipation from the Highlands, and written with a sprig in my cap[2] (*mit einem Bruche auf dem Hute*) too. I have knocked over four stags and they adorn the new venison larder.

'The new house is up one story, and with its dressed granite, promises to present a noble appearance. The work is terribly hard, and the walls will have to be carried up several feet thick. The workmen, who have to be brought here from a distance and to camp in wooden barracks, have already struck several times, which is now quite the fashion all over the country.[3] This is no doubt fomented by the great amount of emigration, and the vast newly opened markets of Australia, China, and California. To-day's *Economist* shows that last year (ending July 5th), our Exports have gone up about twenty millions sterling. Simultaneously with this, despite the immense influx of gold from California and Australia, there is at this moment a deficiency of eleven millions of bullion in the Bank, and the rate of interest, which in February, when Gladstone brought forward his Conversion of Stock, stood at 2 per cent., has gone up to 4! Corn, coals, and other necessaries of life, as well as wages, have also gone up considerably.

'From Petersburg we have heard nothing decisive, since the news of the changes in the Vienna Note made in Constantinople arrived there. That they are taking time to deliberate ought to be viewed as a good sign, yet *The Times* takes upon itself to know, that the Note will be rejected. Should this happen, our position will be very unpleasant.

[2] The German sportsman's sign of success in having killed a stag is a sprig of fir stuck in his hat or cap.

[3] A few days after this letter was written, these barracks were burnt down. The fire was caused by the fault of some of the workmen, but the Queen paid them 400*l.* to replace their losses—a practical rebuke to the theory that wages are the sole tie between employer and employed, to which the leaders of the insane strikes of this period were quite insensible. The waste of capital in strikes this year was enormous.

We can hardly desire to compel the Turks to yield to the Russians, or encourage the Russians to decline what we have ourselves acknowledged to be just and equitable. Our fleet will soon be unable to remain longer in Besika Bay (on account of the storms), yet it cannot return until the question is settled, without a semblance of giving way on our part, and cannot retire into the quiet waters of the Bosphorus, without prejudice to the treaties, to which we especially have every reason to cling.'

The evening this letter was written, tidings reached the Queen, which proved that *The Times* was right. Russia had definitely refused to adopt the modifications of the Vienna Note proposed by the Porte, and the diplomatists, who had trusted to that Note for putting the Eastern question to rest, were in despair.

It may not be out of place here to take a rapid glance at the history of that question up to this point.

By virtue of a treaty between Francis I. and the Sultan, the Holy Places in Palestine (of which the chief were the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the Shrine of the Virgin, the Sacred Manger in the lower part of the great Church of Bethlehem), and the monks of the Latin Church who took care of these Holy Places, were placed under the protection of the Crown of France. After that period the Greeks obtained various firmans from the Porte, on the strength of which they disputed the right of the Latin monks to the guardianship of the Shrines. From time to time serious disputes on the subject arose between the Greek and Latin Churches. In 1819 these had reached such a height, that the French and Russian Governments, as representing these Churches respectively, found it necessary to interfere. The King of France claimed to act 'as the hereditary protector of the Catholics in the East,' and the Emperor of

Russia, as 'the sovereign of the greater number of the followers of the Greek Church.' Negotiations with the Porte were still pending in 1821, when they were suspended in consequence of the Greek Revolution. They were not resumed until 1850, when the subject was again actively taken up by the French Government. The question at issue seemed in itself of no great moment. 'Stated in bare terms,' says Mr. Kinglake, 'it was whether, for the purpose of passing through the building into their grotto, the Latin monks should have the key of the chief door of the Church of Bethlehem, and also one of the keys of each of the two doors of the Sacred Manger, and whether they should be at liberty to place in the sanctuary of the Nativity a silver star adorned with the Arms of France.' Our Minister at Constantinople, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, however, early saw that this dispute might only be the prelude to political complications of a serious character. 'It is difficult,' he wrote to Lord Palmerston, in May, 1850, 'to separate any such question from political considerations, and a struggle of general influence—especially if Russia, as may be expected, should interfere in behalf of the Greek Church—will probably grow out of the impending discussion.'

The Russian Government did interfere, and with the result here anticipated. After mature investigation into the claims of the respective Churches, the Porte came to a decision which pleased neither of the disputants. In a Note addressed on the 9th of February, 1853, to M. de Lavalette, the French Minister at Constantinople, it promised to concede to the Latins the right of officiating at the Shrine of the Virgin near Jerusalem, together with the keys to the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. By a subsequent firman, it negatived the exclusive claims of the Latins to the possession of the other Holy Places in dispute, on the ground that this was inconsistent with ancient usage, as con-

firmed by an old firman granted to the Greeks. The French, although by no means contented with this decision, agreed to accept it. Not so the Russian Government, whose cue it was to treat it as a triumph of the French Embassy at Constantinople. Immediately after the decision was known, Count Nesselrode wrote (January, 1853) to Baron Brunnow: 'To the indignation of the whole Greek population, the key of the Church of Bethlehem has been made over to the Latins, so as publicly to demonstrate their religious supremacy in the East.' Both Churches had keys; where, then, was the warrant for such a conclusion? The sting lay elsewhere—in the practical denial, implied in the delivery of a key to the Latins, of the protectorate over the Christians in Turkey, which the Russian Government had long before made up its mind to assert, and to enforce, as it soon appeared, at the point of the sword.

To give weight to its representations, Russia had moved up a considerable force at the end of 1852 to the frontiers of Moldavia. This was followed in February by the appearance of Prince Menschikoff at Constantinople, with an imposing suite of naval and military officers. The language which he used to the Porte was of the most peremptory character—'a mixture of angry complaints and friendly assurances, accompanied with peremptory requisitions as to the Holy Places in Palestine, indications of some ulterior views, and a general tone of insistance, bordering at times on intimidation'—(*Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to Lord Clarendon*, 6th April). His demands, which assumed a definite shape a few days afterwards (19th April) in a note to the Turkish Foreign Minister, extended, as our Ambassador had foreseen, to questions of a much wider scope than the dispute about the Holy Places. That dispute, however, the Porte closed by the issue of two firmans at the beginning of May, by which all the points raised under it were disposed of.

That the discussion should end here, however, by no means

met the views of the Russian representative. He had come to Constantinople to extort some engagement from the Porte which would enable his Government to assert a protectorate of the so-called Orthodox Church within the Turkish Empire. Accordingly, on the 5th of May, he presented, on behalf of his Emperor, an *ultimatum* in the form of a note, accompanied by the draft of a proposed Convention, the studied generality of the terms used in which would have effected his object. This was seen through by the advisers of the Porte, and they accordingly decided to treat the proposed Convention as inadmissible. Just at this moment a change took place in the Turkish Government, which had been forced on by Prince Menschikoff. He chose this crisis to press for an immediate reply, under the threat of breaking off his relations with the Porte. Reschid Pasha, the new Foreign Minister, appealed for the delay of five or six days to enable him to give a reply on a matter of so much delicacy. This was refused, and an explicit answer demanded forthwith. The Ottoman Council met this discourteous refusal by a prompt decision not to entertain the proposed Convention. Immediately afterwards Prince Menschikoff quitted Constantinople; the warlike preparations on the Turkish frontier were pressed on, and the Porte, in communicating what had passed to the great Western Powers, announced that, 'as a simple measure of prudence, it felt compelled to take measures of self-defence.'

The admirable temper and discretion shown by the Ottoman Government throughout these discussions were calculated to enlist the sympathy of this country. When made aware of the Russian ultimatum, Lord Clarendon, then Foreign Secretary, in writing to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, expressed the opinion of our Government, that 'no sovereign having a proper regard for his own dignity and independence could admit proposals, which conferred upon another and

more powerful sovereign a right of protection over his own subjects.' From such an admission it must follow, he added, that '14,000,000 of Greeks would henceforward regard the Emperor as their supreme protector, and their allegiance to the Sultan would be little more than nominal, while his own independence would dwindle into vassalage.' —(Despatch of 31st May.)

With the knowledge in their minds of the Emperor of Russia's fixed idea that the dissolution of the 'dying man,' which he had called Turkey upwards of eight years before (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 216), was now imminent,[4] our Government must have been blind indeed, not to have seen the danger which lurked in the vague language of the Convention proposed by Russia. They were as anxious as the Russians professed to be, to secure the Christian subjects of the Porte against the cruelty and oppression of their Moslem fellow-subjects, and they could have little sympathy with a Government which had so often abused its power. While, therefore, supporting the Sultan against an encroachment on his independence, which might have led to results disastrous to the interests of England in the East, our Government did not lose the opportunity of making the Porte aware, that the outrages perpetrated by Mussulman fanaticism on the Rayahs would no longer be tolerated by the Christian Powers. 'The Porte must decide,' our Ambassador wrote, on the 22nd of June, to M. Pisani, the chief interpreter to the Embassy at Constantinople, 'between the maintenance of an erroneous religious principle and the loss of the sympathy and support of his allies.' M. Pisani was instructed to point out the immense importance of this election, for the Porte must be well aware, 'that, without the hearty assistance of its

[4] This view had been repeatedly pressed in person by the Emperor in interviews with Sir G. Hamilton Seymour, with whose reports of these conversations the public has long been familiar.

Christian dependants, and the powerful sympathy and support of its Christian allies, the Turkish Empire must soon cease to exist.'

By this time the patriotic spirit of the Turks, Christian no less than Moslem, was fairly aroused; and the animosity to the Russians was still further inflamed, when in the beginning of July two divisions of the Russian troops crossed the Pruth, and took possession of the Principalities. It mattered little, that Count Nesselrode announced this step to have been taken, 'not to wage war,' but to obtain material guarantees for the concession by Turkey of demands which it had already declared were wholly inadmissible. It could only not be war, if Turkey were weak enough to yield to coercion. This it was in no mood to do; and, grievously as her Christian subjects had even recently been made to suffer under Moslem rule, neither in the Principalities nor elsewhere did they show any disposition to transfer their allegiance to the Czar. Such was the excitement, that only with the greatest difficulty the Western Powers were able to prevail upon the Porte not to issue a counter declaration of war. In return for yielding to their representations, however, a Conference at Vienna of the four Great Powers was hurried on, in the hope of finding some pacific solution of the dispute.

This Conference resulted in the Vienna Note, more than once referred to in the Prince's correspondence. The framers of that Note must have been strangely misled or must have had their acuteness singularly blunted by a desire for peace, to have assented to a document tainted to the core by the vagueness of language, the danger of which in the Convention proposed by Prince Menschikoff had been so strongly condemned. Had Russia the right, or had she not, to the protectorate of the Sultan's Greek subjects, was the substantial question at issue. Russia asserted that she had, Turkey as strongly affirmed that she had not. Russia pro-

tested that this right was secured to her by the Treaty of Kainardji of 1744; Turkey, on the other hand, pointed unanswerably to the language of that Treaty, in evidence of precisely the opposite conclusion. What could any Note avail, which left this issue untouched, indeed, but which would certainly be called in aid by Russia hereafter, to support its own construction of the Treaty of Kainardji? As it stood, the Note entirely suited the Russian policy. When submitted to the Turkish Government, however, they emphatically declined to adopt it, unless certain modifications were made in it, to make the Russian construction of its language for the future impossible.

The Prince, it would appear, had little hope, looking to the constitution of the Conference, that it would lead to a satisfactory result. On the 21st of September, he writes from Balmoral:

'Dear Stockmar,—You will receive only two words from me, but accompanied by two interesting enclosures, which will place you *au courant* with the unpleasant state of the Eastern question. They speak for themselves, and require no commentary from me. Meyendorff is the Vienna Cabinet. Louis Napoleon wishes for peace, enjoyment, and cheap corn. The King of Prussia is a reed shaken by the wind. We are paralysed through not knowing what our agent in Constantinople is or is not doing. The Divan has become fanatically warlike and headstrong, and reminds one of Prussia in 1806. The public here is furiously Turkish and anti-Russian. All this makes Aberdeen's bed not one of roses.'

The Emperor of Russia, as might have been anticipated, refused to listen to any proposal to modify the Vienna Note; on the other hand, the Turkish Government were equally peremptory in adhering to their position. In a weak hope

still to patch up a peace, it was proposed that the Western Powers should join in a guarantee to Turkey, that the Note should not hereafter be construed in a sense adverse to Turkey—a proposition, no doubt, prompted by reliance on the Emperor of Russia's reiterated assurances, that he asked for nothing new, but only for a confirmation of rights under existing treaties. Austria and Prussia, probably only too well aware of the Emperor's real views as to the extent of these rights, declined to join in this guarantee, and the proposal fell to the ground. Meanwhile, however, Count Nesselrode had, in a despatch (7th September) to Baron Meyendorff, the Austrian Foreign Minister, stated at great length the reasons of the Emperor for refusing to accept the modifications of the Note. This document opened the eyes of our Government to the fact, that the Russian interpretation of this document was directly at variance with that of the four Powers, and in a great measure confirmed the Turkish objections. It was therefore impossible for England any longer to urge the Porte to sign the Note, unless at the same time both France and herself gave their assurance that they would be prepared to support the Turks by arms, in any future contest which might arise respecting its interpretation.

In the letter (23rd September) in which the Earl of Aberdeen informed Her Majesty of the crisis which had thus been reached, he added, that the state of Constantinople had become very alarming. 'The war frenzy and fanaticism of the Turks have passed all bounds, and threaten the safety of the Sultan, and of the Christian inhabitants of the capital. Under these circumstances, authority has been given to call up the English and French fleets for their protection. The Ambassadors have already agreed, each of them to summon two war steamers for this purpose. Unwilling as Lord Aberdeen has always been to agree to the gratuitous violation of the Treaty of 1841, he could not hesitate a moment when British

life and property were at stake, as well as the personal security of the sovereign.'

The misgivings of the Queen and Prince as to the sincerity of the Czar's protestations had been thus most painfully confirmed. Not an hour was lost in making Lord Aberdeen aware of their views as to the course now to be adopted. Her Majesty wrote:

'Balmoral, 25th September, 1853.

'Lord Aberdeen's explanation of the present state of affairs throws an entirely new light upon the position of the question in dispute. The Queen has also just seen Count Nesselrode's despatch, stating his reasons for the objections to the modifications made in the Vienna Note. Hitherto Russia has generally objected to any modification of what had been already accepted by the Emperor as an *ultimatum*.

'But since it appears, as Lord Aberdeen says, "that the Russian interpretation of the Vienna Note was directly at variance with that of the four Powers, and in a great measure confirmed the Turkish objections," Lord Aberdeen is perfectly right in calling it "an act scarcely honest upon the part of England and France to ask the Porte to sign a Note upon the strength of their interpretation, while they knew perfectly well, that this interpretation was entirely different from that put upon it by the Power to whom the Note was to be addressed."

'From this moment, however, it becomes also obvious, that it will be fruitless further to attempt to settle the dispute by the "rédaction" of Notes to be exchanged between Turkey and Russia, or the choice of particular words and expressions in public documents having for their object to avoid naming the real objects in dispute.

'It is evident that Russia has hitherto attempted to deceive us in pretending, that she did not aim at the acquisi-

tion of any *new* right, but required only a satisfaction of honour, and a reacknowledgment of the rights she already possessed by treaty,—and that she does intend, and for the first time lays bare that intention, to acquire new rights of interference, which the Porte does not wish to concede, and cannot concede, and which the European Powers have repeatedly declared she *ought not* to concede.

'Ought not the points of difference to be now prominently laid before our allies, and in conjunction with such as have either the honesty or the courage to avow the same opinion with ourselves, ought we not to point this out to Russia, with a declaration that such demands are unsupported by existing treaties, inadmissible by Turkey, if she has any regard for her independence, and inadmissible by the Powers, who have an interest and a duty to guard this independence, and that the continuance of the occupation of the Principalities, in order to extort these demands, constitutes an unwarrantable aggression upon Turkey, and infraction of the public law of Europe?

'If the views of Russia, for instance, with regard to "Modification III. of the Note" were to prevail, the extension of the advantages and privileges enjoyed by Christian communities in their capacity as foreigners to the Greeks generally, with the right granted to Russia to intercede for them to this effect, would simply make foreigners of ten millions of the subjects of the Porte, or depose the Sultan as their sovereign, putting the Emperor of Russia in his place?'[5]

Two days after this letter was written, the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar. His letter is the more interesting, inasmuch as at this time a section of the English press had begun to throw on him and his alleged Russian sympathies the

[5] The argument indicated in this letter was adopted and carried out in detail by Lord Clarendon in a despatch to Sir G. Hamilton Seymour at St. Petersburg on the 30th of September.

blame of what they considered the undue forbearance of the Government with the aggressive proceedings of the Czar:—

'The Eastern complication has reached a new stage. "*S'il parle, il est perdu*," said an antagonist, in the old French Chamber, of one of the Ministers. So has it been with Nesselrode. He has for the first time in the *Note explicative* which you have read assigned *reasons* why the Turkish modifications of the Vienna Note are unacceptable, and in doing so he has shown the cloven foot and let the cat out of the bag! He sees his mistake, and already Kisseleff, in Paris, is saying that the Note is not to be regarded as official.

'We can, however, no longer urge the acceptance of the Vienna Note, which has proved to be a *trap* set by Meyendorff through Buol; we *dare*, moreover, no longer believe the protestations of the Emperor Nicholas, that the question at issue is a point of honour, an ultimatum which does not admit of change, a *new* acknowledgment of *old* rights. All that is at an end.

'But how now to avoid an European war? For only with the most *dishonourable* cowardice on the part of the Powers, could the demands be conceded by them which are now set up. Austria indeed is capable of this moral degradation, and an Imperial visit, with orders, &c., can do much; but we, I trust, will never sink so low. I cannot disguise from you, that the course of the whole affair has done Aberdeen infinite injury with the public, and the outcry against him and Clarendon will soon become loud, *unjustly* so; but the mass of mankind judges only after the event. . . .

'Aberdeen is quite right, and is to be honoured and applauded for maintaining, as he does, that we must deal with our enemies as *honourable* men, and deal honourably towards them; but that is no reason why we should think

they are so in fact; this is what he does, and maintains that it is right to do.

'The worst symptom of all is the danger to which Turkish fanaticism has already given rise in Constantinople. Our fleet is under orders to run in there, should the lives of the Christian population or of the Sultan himself be in danger; and four ships have accordingly sailed for the Bosphorus. The greater the tumult, the better are the Russians pleased.

'Balmoral, 27th September, 1853.'

The same day the Prince wrote to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg:—'We should enjoy the stay here greatly, were it not for the horrible Eastern complication. We are doing all we can to maintain peace. An European war would be a terrible calamity. It will not do to give up all hope. Still what we have is small.'

CHAPTER XLIX.

The hope of maintaining peace was growing rapidly fainter. Hitherto the Western Powers had been able by their representations to restrain the Turkish Divan from declaring war; but such was now the excitement among the Mussulman population at Constantinople and elsewhere, that this decisive step could no longer be averted. Time was everything to Russia. By the spring she would be able to bring an overwhelming force into the field to support the troops she had thrown into Wallachia. On the other hand, it was ruin to Turkey, which had to bear the cost of what was in truth war, without the opportunity of striking a blow before her adversary was reinforced. But if the gauntlet were once thrown down, what little chance might previously have been left of a peaceful adjustment—and it was very little,—was too surely at an end.

'Come soon, if you can,' the Prince writes to Baron Stockmar, from Balmoral, on the 5th of October. 'Your counsel and support will be of extraordinary value to us!

'The Turks have declared war; what will the four Powers do? By this our mediation policy is knocked on the head. We cannot look on and see the Porte destroyed by Russia; active assistance is European war—if it succeeds, then fanatical oppression of the Christians in the East becomes in the ascendant! To leave the Porte in the lurch is death to the Ministry, to declare war is not much else. Graham is here, the Cabinet meets in London to-

morrow, we go south this day week, and shall be there on Friday.'

Some months before, when he thought the Eastern question likely to be satisfactorily settled, Lord Aberdeen, naturally anxious for the repose which his advanced age demanded, had been ready to vacate his position in favour of Lord John Russell. He soon found, however, that this would lead to a break-up of the Cabinet. Lord Palmerston's determination never again to serve under Lord John Russell was well known; none of the Peelites would willingly do so, and some even of Lord Russell's old Whig supporters deprecated a change, which would place him at the head of affairs. A Reform Bill had been promised by the Ministry; and this, which was Lord John Russell's favourite project, he wished to be in a position to introduce with all the authority of himself as Premier. But the public mind had been thoroughly diverted by Eastern affairs from the subject of Reform, and these were now in a position which made retirement impossible for Lord Aberdeen with credit to himself or without injury to the Government. The matter was subsequently arranged for the time. Meanwhile, enough has been told to explain what is said by the Prince on the subject in the conclusion of the same letter:

'Lord John, bent upon being Prime Minister, has changed his ground for setting up his claim that the Reform Bill ought to be brought forward by him *as Premier*, and is now causing Aberdeen trouble on the Eastern question. He has already wanted to resign twice. . . .

'Aberdeen is ready to go, but not to *run away* from the Eastern complication. The next few weeks will bring matters to a crisis. . . .'

Both the French Government and our own still clung to the hope, that an amicable termination of the dispute be-

tween the Czar and the Sultan might yet be reached. But they felt they could no longer withhold their material support from the latter, and accordingly authority was sent to our Ambassador at Constantinople (8th October), in concert with Admiral Dundas and his French colleague, to employ the combined fleets in whatever manner, or at whatever place, he might think necessary for defending the Turkish territory against direct aggression. If the Russian fleet came out of Sebastopol, the fleets were then to pass through the Bosphorus into the Black Sea.

In taking this step the Allies did at once too much and too little,—too much, in as far as they thus pledged themselves to defend the Turkish territory, if attacked, without at the same time taking any guarantees that the Turks would not provoke an attack, and so involve us in active war; too little, inasmuch as they did not put themselves in a position to prevent Russia from inflicting disaster in the Black Sea upon Turkey and its fleet. When informed of the decision of the Cabinet, the Queen, in writing to Lord Clarendon (11th October), expressed her misgivings about the step which had been taken. 'It appears to the Queen, that we have taken on ourselves, in conjunction with France, all the risks of an European war, without having bound Turkey to any conditions with respect to provoking it. The 120 fanatical Turks constituting the Divan at Constantinople are left sole judges of the line of policy to be pursued, and made cognisant at the same time of the fact that England and France have bound themselves to defend the Turkish territory. This is entrusting them with a power which Parliament has been jealous of confiding even to the hands of the British Crown. It may be a question, whether England ought to go to war for the defence of the so-called Turkish independence; but there can be none, that, if she does so, she ought to be the sole judge

of what constitutes a breach of that independence, and have the fullest power to prevent by negotiation the breaking out of the war.'

The state of affairs had now become so critical, that the stay of the Court at Balmoral was cut short, and the Court returned to Windsor Castle on the 14th of October. Next day the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar:

'We arrived here yesterday evening, all lively and well, and have also found our Osborne section of the children strong and blooming. As I believe it will please you to hear this, I mention it the first thing.

'In politics we have also made some progress. The Cabinet up to this time have maintained perfect harmony.

'Aberdeen has unfortunately made concessions, which bring us *nearer* war. . . . The business stands thus. Negotiations for the maintenance of peace were to have been attempted on the principle of the different Notes which had failed. Meanwhile the Porte declared war, and the fleets are now gone off to Constantinople, with directions "to protect the Turkish territory against any overt act of hostility against Turkey by sea."

'Home matters have hitherto been thrown by the Foreign question entirely into the background. Still, Lord John's wish has been communicated to his colleagues, who, so far as I can learn, one and all deprecate the change, and would regard it as tantamount to a break-up of the Cabinet. The latest details on this point were given to me at Holyrood yesterday by the Duke of Newcastle.

'Now farewell; come when and as soon as you possibly can.'

The Queen, on arriving at Windsor, found that Lord Aberdeen still hoped, almost in spite of hope, that a peaceable settlement could be obtained. The Emperor of Russia had

recently declared at Olmütz, that he sought no new right, privilege, or advantage, but solely the confirmation of the legal *status quo*. If he were sincere in this, there ought to be no difficulty in concluding a peace. The Emperor was reported to be depressed and out of spirits at the position in which he found himself. The four Great Powers had declared him in the wrong; they all felt sore that the rash and unjustifiable invasion of the Principalities had brought them to the verge of an European war. Prussia and Austria, moreover, had reason to dread a power so arbitrary in its demands and its manner of enforcing them by seizing what territory it pleased. If Moldavia, why not any other province, under the pretext of some equally unfounded claim? Seeing the attitude adopted by England and France, the Emperor had within the last few days tried to engage Austria and Prussia in a league, offensive and defensive, against them. Austria would have yielded, had Prussia done so; but Prussia, under the firm guidance of Baron Manteuffel, refused. Thus the Emperor stood alone, with the public opinion of Europe arrayed against him, and two of its greatest Powers virtually pledged to support the Sultan by their whole combined strength. The prospect might well have made him pause; but by this time the religious fervour of the Russians was roused in favour of what they deemed a crusade in support of the true faith, and this element, with others, more than outweighed the suggestions of policy and prudence.

On the 19th of October the Prince again writes to Baron Stockmar:

'No news have arrived from the East. The most important incident is, that Prussia has declined the offensive and defensive alliance with Russia against us and France, to which Austria, subject to Prussia's accession, had already

assented. The Emperor Nicholas' journey to Berlin has thus missed its aim. Under these circumstances, Austria can scarcely expose itself to revolution from within, to bankruptcy, and the armaments of Turkey, Italy, France, and England, for the *beaux yeux de l'Empereur Nicolas*, or for the sake of anticipated territorial aggrandisement in Servia, Bosnia, &c.

'At home the most important fact is, that Lord John has declared to his chief, that he is satisfied the change *at this moment* would not be possible. . . . He will not lay the Reform Bill before the Premier now, but wait for the meeting of Parliament. . . .

'The Palmerstonian stocks have gone up immensely, people saying, that if he had been at the Foreign Office, he would by his energy have brought Russia to reason.

'Our latest mediation scheme is not yet reduced to shape, and our relations to France have settled into an *entente cordiale!*'

Standing as we obviously were on the very brink of a war with a Power of whose resources it was at present impossible to measure the extent, it became of the utmost moment to understand clearly for what we were to fight, and what were the substantial results to Europe and the world which would justify a struggle so vast in its proportions as this could not fail to be. At such a time the anxiety of the Sovereign and of her bosom counsellor may be conceived; and after their interviews, on returning from Scotland, with Lord Aberdeen and Lord Clarendon, the Prince resorted to his usual plan of making clear the whole bearings of a subject to himself by reducing his ideas to writing. On the 21st of October he sent the following Memorandum to Lord Aberdeen for the consideration of himself, Lord Clarendon, and any of his colleagues to whom he might like to show it.

Memorandum for the Consideration of the Cabinet.

'Windsor Castle, 21st October, 1853.

'The questions involved in the Oriental dispute, and the motives which have guided and ought to guide the conduct of the European Powers, and of England in particular, are so complicated and interwoven, that it is very desirable to separate and define them before we can judge of what will be the right future line of action on our part.

'When Prince Menschikoff had obtained the concessions which in our opinion Russia was entitled to demand, and made new demands not borne out by any Treaty, we declared these demands unjust and untenable, and Turkey in the right in refusing compliance with them.

'When Russia invaded the Principalities, for the avowed purpose of holding a pledge in hand, by which to coerce Turkey into compliance, we declared this an infraction of International Law, and an act of unjustifiable aggression upon Turkey, and justifying the latter in going to war. We advised her, however, at the same time to remain at peace.

We took upon ourselves the task of obtaining from Russia by our negotiations a diplomatic settlement of the dispute, not involving the concessions which we had said Turkey ought not to make, and securing the evacuation of the Principalities.

'These negotiations have hitherto been unattended with success. We have in the meantime sent orders to our fleet to protect and defend the Turkish territory from any Russian attack.

'Throughout the transaction, then, we have taken distinctly the part of Turkey as against Russia. The motives which have guided us have been mainly three:

'(1.) We considered Turkey in the right, and Russia in

the wrong; and could not see without indignation the unprovoked attempt of a strong Power to oppress a weak one.

'(2.) We felt the paramount importance of not allowing Russia to obtain in an underhand way, or by a legal form, a hold over Turkey, which she would not have ventured to seek by open conquest.

'(3.) We were most anxious for the preservation of the peace of Europe, which could not fail to be endangered by open hostilities between Turkey and Russia.

'These motives must be pronounced just and laudable, and ought still to guide our conduct. By the order to our fleet, however, to protect the Turkish territory, and by the declaration of war, now issued by the Turks, the third and perhaps most important object of our policy has been decidedly placed in jeopardy. In acting as auxiliaries to the Turks, we ought to be quite sure that *they* have no object in view *foreign* to our duty and interests; that they do not drive at war, whilst we aim at peace; that they do not, instead of merely resisting the attempt of Russia to obtain a protectorate over the Greek population incompatible with their own independence, seek to obtain themselves the power of imposing a more oppressive rule of two millions of fanatic Mussulmans over twelve millions of Christians; that they do not try to turn the tables upon the weaker power, now that, backed by England and France, they have themselves become the stronger.

'There can be little doubt, and it is very natural, that the fanatical party at Constantinople should have such views; but to engage our fleet as an auxiliary force for such purposes would be fighting against our own interests, policy, and feelings.

'From this it would result, that, if our forces are to be employed for any purpose, however defensive, as an auxiliary to Turkey, we *must insist* upon keeping not only the conduct

of the negotiation, but also the power of peace and war, in our own hands, and that, Turkey refusing this, we can no longer take part *for her*.

'It will be said that England and Europe have a strong interest, setting all Turkish considerations aside, that Constantinople and the Turkish territory should not fall into the hands of Russia, and that they should in the last extremity even go to war to prevent such an overthrow of the balance of power. This must be admitted, and such a war may be right and wise. But this would be a war, not for the maintenance of the *integrity of the Ottoman Empire*, but merely for the interests of the European powers of civilisation. It ought to be carried on unshackled by obligations to the Porte and will probably lead, in the Peace which must be the object of that war, to the obtaining of arrangements more consonant with the well-understood interests of Europe, of Christianity, liberty, and civilisation, than the reimposition of the ignorant barbarian and despotic yoke of the Mussulman over the most fertile and favoured portion of Europe.'

Next day Lord Aberdeen told the Prince, that this Memorandum had given him the greatest pleasure, and that it expressed entirely his own opinion on the whole question. He had shown it to Lord Clarendon and Sir James Graham, who both agreed in it, and had then sent it to Lord John Russell, who returned it, saying, 'that he agreed very much with it.' It was afterwards sent to Lord Palmerston, who expressed his views in a long letter to Lord Aberdeen a few days afterwards.[1] It was his opinion that, having once sent our squadron to support Turkey, we were now bound to see her safely through her quarrel, and at all hazards to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. He scouted the idea

[1] It has been printed, but without Lord Aberdeen's reply, in *Lord Palmerston's Life*, ii. 13 *et seq.*

that we should make the war the means for securing from the Porte such a recognition of the rules of European civilisation in respect to the treatment of her Christian subjects as the Prince foresaw would, unless granted and acted upon, be the fruitful source of future disquiet and warfare in Europe. 'It is said,' he wrote, 'that the Turks are reawakening the dormant fanaticism of the Mussulman race, and that we ought not to be the helping instruments to gratify such bad passions. I believe these stories about awakened fanaticism to be fables invented at Vienna and St. Petersburg; we have had no facts stated in support of them.' Putting a construction on the concluding sentence of the Memorandum far beyond what it will bear, Lord Palmerston further said, that it points at 'expelling from Europe the Sultan and his two millions of Mussulman subjects,' and he then goes on to the assumption that 'a reconstruction of Turkey means neither more nor less than its subjection to Russia, direct or indirect, immediate or for a time delayed.'

Lord Aberdeen had little difficulty in disposing of Lord Palmerston's denial of what the fanaticism of the Turks had done and was likely to do:

'Notwithstanding the favourable opinion entertained by many,' he states, in replying to Lord Palmerston on the 4th of November, 'it is difficult to believe in the improvement of the Turks. It is true, that under the pressure of the moment benevolent decrees may be issued, but these, except under the eye of some Foreign Minister, are entirely neglected. Their whole system is radically vicious and inhuman. I do not refer to fables which may be invented at St. Petersburg or Vienna, but to numerous despatches of Lord Stratford himself, and of our own consuls, who describe a frightful picture of lawless oppression and cruelty. This is so true, that if the war should continue, and the Turkish armies meet with disaster, we may expect to see the Christian populations of the Empire rise against their oppressors; and in such a case, it could scarcely be proposed to employ the British force

in the Levant to assist in compelling their return under a Mahommedan yoke.'

In any case, though we had sent our fleet to the Bosphorus, we had done so reserving to ourselves complete freedom for further negotiation with a view to peace. If, while we were labouring for this, the Turks should be obstinately bent on war, 'then,' he added, 'I confess I am not disposed to sacrifice our freedom of action, and to permit ourselves to be dragged into war by a Government which has not the requisite control over its own subjects, and is obliged to act under the pressure of popular dictation.' The Ottoman Government had declared war in opposition to the remonstrances of our Ambassador; and if we were now to go into war along with them, we must see that we did so for ends which we could justify to ourselves and in the face of Europe. Lord Aberdeen concluded thus:

'I should be perfectly prepared to oppose, even to the extremity of war, the possession by Russia of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, with the approaches to the Mediterranean; and I think that this decision would be justified by English and by European interests. It is true that the Emperor of Russia has invariably declared that he entertains no such projects, and that he would regret any such proposition; but if a contest should arise on this ground, it would probably embrace other objects than the security of Turkish dominion. It is difficult to say, into whose hands these territories would ultimately fall; but whoever might profit by the result, it is to be expected that the Turks would disappear, never more to return to a soil upon which, in the face of Christendom, they have been so long established.'

The Manifesto to his subjects, issued by the Emperor of Russia a few days afterwards (1st November) augured ill for any amicable settlement. It contained the astounding statement that 'even the chief Powers of Europe had sought

in vain by their exhortations to shake the blind obstinacy of the Ottoman Government,' while the fact was, that these Powers had supported that Government in its demand for modifications of the Vienna Note. The manifesto charged the Porte with breach of treaties, with issuing a proclamation 'filled with lying accusations against Russia,' and so leaving the Emperor no alternative but to compel it by force of arms 'to respect treaties,' and to give 'reparation for the insults with which it has responded to our most moderate demands, and to our legitimate solicitude for the defence of the Orthodox Faith in the East, professed also by the people of Russia.'

Simultaneously with the preparation of this Manifesto, the Emperor addressed an autograph letter to our Queen, full of surprise that there should be any misunderstanding between Her Majesty's Government and his own as to the affairs of Turkey, and appealing to Her Majesty's 'good faith' and 'wisdom' to decide between them. This letter was at once submitted by the Queen to Lord Clarendon, for his and Lord Aberdeen's perusal, and opinion as to the answer to be returned. When this had been obtained, Her Majesty replied on the 14th of November. The following passage, which alone it is necessary to translate from the original French, answered the appeal in very explicit terms:

'Being heartily anxious, Sire, to discover what could have produced this painful misunderstanding, my attention has been naturally drawn to Article 7 of the Treaty of Kainardji; and I am bound to state to your Majesty, that having consulted the persons here best qualified to form a judgment upon the meaning to be attached to this Article, and after having read and re-read it myself, with the most sincere desire to be impartial, I have arrived at the conviction, that this Article is not susceptible of the extended meaning which it has been sought to attach to it. All your Majesty's friends, like myself, feel assured, that you would not have

abused the power which would on such a construction have been accorded to you; but a demand of this kind could hardly be conceded by a Sovereign who valued his own independence.

'Moreover, I will not conceal from your Majesty the painful impression produced upon me by the occupation of the Principalities. For the last four months this has caused a general commotion in Europe, and is calculated to lead to ulterior events, which I should deplore in common with your Majesty. But as I know that your Majesty's intentions towards the Porte are friendly and disinterested, I have every confidence, that you will find means to give expression and effect to them, so as to avert those grave dangers, which, I assure you, all my efforts will be directed to prevent. The impartial attention, with which I have followed the causes, that up to this time have led to the failure of all attempts at conciliation, leaves me with the firm conviction, that there exists no real obstacle which cannot be removed or promptly surmounted with your Majesty's assistance.'

Before Her Majesty's letter was despatched, it was of course submitted to Lords Aberdeen and Clarendon, and was by them 'thought excellent.' It was known in St. Petersburg that a letter had been written to the Queen of England. Nor was it long before our Ambassador there heard how much the Emperor had been mortified by the tenor of the reply. He regretted 'that he had not followed Nesselrode's advice and kept clear of politics in his letter, for the Queen had in fact gone heart and soul with her Ministry.' Count Nesselrode was very anxious to learn from our Ambassador, if he knew the contents of the Queen's reply. To him as well as to his other informant, Sir Hamilton Seymour could only answer, that he did not. 'These correspondences,' he added, 'between Sovereigns are not regular according to our Constitutional notions; but all I can say is, that if Her Majesty were called

upon to write upon the Eastern affair, she would not require her Ministers' assistance. The Queen understands all these questions as well as they do.'

The day after this reply was sent off (15th November) the Prince writes to Baron Stockmar from Windsor Castle:

'The Eastern complication becomes every day more dangerous, and the chances grow less and less of escape from an European war. Still all our energies will be directed to this object. . . .

'We had made some way, when this new Manifesto of the Emperor, full of insolence and falsehood, throws us back where we were; it was the same before Olmütz with Nesselrode's *Note explicative.* In short, every document from the Russian Chancery has proved to be Russia's worst enemy.

'The Emperor has written to Victoria with an exposition of his case, has again talked of his word of honour, and on this ground besought her "*de juger entre lui et le gouvernement Anglais.*" Victoria has sat in judgment, but her judgment must go against her Imperial brother, and I hope in a way to make him feel that some amends to honour are still due.'

The Prince a few days afterwards (27th November) again wrote to the Baron:

'The prospects of a peaceful settlement in the East do not improve. Lord Stratford fulfils his instructions to the letter, but he so contrives, that we are constantly getting deeper into a war policy. Six weeks ago Palmerston and Lord John carried a resolution that we should give notice that an attack on the Turkish fleet by that of Russia would be met by the fleets of England and France. Now the Turkish steam-ships are to cross over from the Asiatic coast to the Crimea, and to pass before Sebastopol! This can only be

meant to insult the Russian fleet, and to entice it to come out, in order thereby to make it possible for Lord Stratford to bring our fleet into collision with that of Russia according to his former instructions, and so to make an European war certain. Of course this is merely surmise; still there are under-currents without end. . . . The consequence is a set of measures, which the late Lord Liverpool would have called "neither here nor there."

'Louis Napoleon shows by far the greatest statesmanship, which is easier for the individual than for the many; he is moderate, but firm; gives way to us even when his plan is better than ours, and revels in the enjoyment of the advantages he derives from the alliance with us. . . .

'Now, however, I must conclude. I should like to have written as to the Reform question, but cannot manage to do so to-day. Lord John's plan has gone through committee with some modifications, and its principle will be accepted by the Cabinet. Whether Lansdowne will resign, if things come to closer quarters, I do not know,—perhaps Palmerston counts upon his doing so.'

On the 16th of December the political world was startled by the announcement that Lord Palmerston had resigned. On the 26th, it learned that his resignation had been withdrawn, and that peace was once more restored in the Cabinet. It was at this time that the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope by a squadron, which had run out from Sebastopol for the purpose, realised all that had been apprehended as likely to result from sending the combined fleet to the Bosphorus, where its presence was a defiance to Russia, but futile to prevent a serious disaster to Turkey. The incidents to which these events gave rise are fully told in the Prince's letters to his friend at Coburg. On the 23rd of December he writes from Windsor Castle:

'My last letter had not long been despatched, when Palmerston's resignation took place. Since then the state of politics here has been quite insane (*toll*) . . . No one will believe the true cause of his retirement—his dislike of Lord John's plan of Reform; and treachery is everywhere the cry. It is the Eastern question that has turned him out, and Court intrigues! *Uncle Leopold and I* have been his enemies. . . . Even *you* are attacked. "Baron Stockmar, we are glad to hear, is in perfect health, and in assiduous attendance upon the Prince Consort."

'The defeat of the Turks at Sinope, upon our element—the sea—has made the people furious; it is ascribed to Aberdeen having been bought over by Russia, and Palmerston is the only English Minister. . . . What you will chiefly marvel at is, that after all this, Palmerston is again anxious to join the Cabinet, and has opened negotiations with this view, maintaining that his resignation has not yet been officially accepted, and that Aberdeen and his colleagues are not indisposed to admit him again, if Lord John, who is mortally offended, will give way. Palmerston has manifestly repented the step, for he hoped that Lord Lansdowne, who has now made up his mind to stay, would go out with him, and that the whole Ministry would be blown into the air. . . . Palmerston will now give up his objections to Reform, "for Lord Lansdowne's sake," and from a patriotic desire to save England's honour in the East. One almost fancies oneself in a lunatic asylum.'

Four days later (27th December), the Prince calls his friend's attention to the attacks upon himself as the cause of Lord Palmerston having left the Ministry, that had begun to be industriously propagated, and which bore a suspicious resemblance to the charges of the same nature which had been insinuated at the end of 1851:—

'Dear Stockmar,—Palmerston is once more installed. This is the result of the efforts of the Peelites in the Cabinet, and especially of the Duke of Newcastle. It was said, the Ministry could not hold together without him, that he is *the only* Minister in whom the country reposes confidence!

'The defeat at Sinope has made the people quite furious, treachery is the cry, and, guided by a friendly hand, the whole press has for the last week made "a dead set at the Prince" (as the English slang phrase goes). My unconstitutional position, correspondence with Foreign Courts, dislike to Palmerston, relationship to the Orleans family, interference with the army, &c., are depicted as the causes of the decline of the State, the Constitution, and the nation, and indeed the stupidest trash is babbled to the public, so stupid, that (as they say in Coburg) you would not give it to the pigs to litter in.

'Now Palmerston is again in his seat and all is quiet. The best of the joke is, that, because he went out, the Opposition journals extolled him to the skies, in order to damage the Ministry, and now the Ministerial journals have to do so, in order to justify the reconciliation (?). . . . I fear the whole affair will damage the Ministry seriously. Palmerston gulps down, it is true, all his objections to the Reform Bill (which is to be altered in none of its essentials), but he will lead the world to believe that it is to *him* concessions have been made.

'Meanwhile, we are getting nearer and nearer war, and I entertain little hope of its being averted. The Emperor of Russia is manifestly quite mad. We shall now be compelled to take possession of the Black Sea, so as to prevent further disasters like that of Sinope, and he may very well regard this as a war measure, and himself declare war; or it may be brought on any day by the fleets coming into collision. God be merciful to the world, if it come to this! . . .'

Reserving the painful subject of the calumnious attacks upon the Prince, which were continued from this time till Parliament met in February, for another chapter, let us close this by a letter of a most characteristic kind addressed by him to Lord Granville a few weeks before. A proposal had been set on foot in the City for erecting a statue of the Prince in commemoration of the Great Exhibition, and had given rise to much discussion. From notoriety of this kind the Prince shrank with peculiar sensitiveness; still, there were not wanting hints in the press from the class of publicists, who know people better than those people know themselves, that he was himself the instigator of the movement. Some of his friends thought that it would be well for him to make a public protest against the proposed statue. As, however, he had never been consulted, and did not even know to whom he could address his protest, he felt that it would be officious and uncalled for.

'My dear Lord Granville,—Many thanks for your letter, evincing such kind interest in what concerns me.

'I did not see the letter in *The Times;* but I read yesterday's leading article, which led me at once to considerations similar to those which struck you. Moreover, it is evident to me that the Lord Mayor started the plan chiefly as the means of bringing himself into notice, after other Mayors had gone to Paris, taken the lead in education, &c.; and that *The Times* is attacking the plan chiefly to hit the Lord Mayor, as it had hit his predecessors. My unfortunate person will thus probably become their battle-ground; and although the first article of *The Times* is civil, its music generally goes on crescendo, and the next may be purposely offensive, and meet with shouts of applause from a portion of the audience.

'Still, I do not see how I can with any dignity or respect

for myself take notice of the squabble, and cry out for mercy, or to whom I could write such a letter as you suggest. I have never been consulted in any way in the matter, and the people have a perfect right to subscribe for and erect a monument in remembrance of the Great Exhibition; nor could I volunteer to say, "you must not connect it in any way with me."

'I can say, with perfect absence of humbug, that I would much rather not be made the prominent feature of such a monument, as it would both disturb my quiet rides in Rotten Row to see my own face staring at me, and if (as is very likely) it became an artistic monstrosity, like most of our monuments, it would upset my equanimity to be permanently ridiculed and laughed at in effigy.

'*The Times*' argument, however, that it would be premature to place a statue to me, is of no great force in this instance, as I suppose it is not intended to recognise general merits in me, which ought yet to be proved, and might possibly be found wanting on longer acquaintance, but rather to commemorate the *fact* of the Exhibition of 1851, over which I presided; which fact will remain unaltered were I to turn out a Nero or a Caligula.

'As in all cases of doubt what to do, it is generally safest to do nothing, I think it better to remain perfectly quiet at present. If I were officially consulted, I should say, "Mark the corners of the building by permanent stones, with inscriptions containing ample records of the event, and give the surplus money to the erection of the museums of art and science."

'Believe me, &c.

(Signed) 'ALBERT.

'Windsor Castle, 3rd November, 1853.'

CHAPTER L.

'He that will not be patient of slander must procure himself a chair out of this world's circle,' was a saying of the great Lord Burghley. The Prince had already had his full share of the misrepresentation to which eminence is always liable. He had borne it without a murmur; but he was now to have his 'patience of slander' put to the fullest test.

On the announcement of Lord Palmerston's resignation, some of the journals conspicuous for their admiration of that statesman's talents began to throw out insinuations in various forms that the Prince had used his position to control the action of the Government, and to advance the interests of foreign dynasties to the prejudice of England. The folly of these charges was at least equal to their malignity. The journalist who could say of the Prince—as, however, was said—that he was the chief agent of 'the Austro-Belgian-Coburg-Orleans clique, the avowed enemies of England, and the subservient tools of Russian ambition,' might have been thought, by his very language, to have forfeited all claim to a moment's consideration. For he asked the British people to believe that the man, of whose intelligence and pure feeling they had long had experience, was foolish enough and heartless enough to imperil the interests of his Queen, of his children, and of the country of his adoption, for the sake of distant relatives, and of dynasties with which the well-known tenor of his political opinions had again and again shown that he was in no sympathy. What, too, must all our Governments have been about, that such an

influence could have been possible, or that there could have been a shadow of truth in the further charge, that 'our foreign policy was mainly directed by the Prince Consort?'

The voice which gave utterance to these charges was the same voice which had made itself heard at the end of 1851. Again the suggestion was made, that now as then the resignation of Lord Palmerston was due to 'an influence behind the throne.' The coincidence was at least remarkable; not the less so, that when Lord Palmerston withdrew his resignation, the journals known to support his views immediately changed their tone with respect to the Prince and to the Court. But the outcry which had been raised was now taken up by others. It was gravely put forward as a great political crime, that the Prince was occasionally present at the interviews between the Queen and her Ministers, that the Queen discussed political questions with him, that he ventured to have opinions on matters of policy foreign and domestic, and that these had weight in guiding and strengthening the opinions of Her Majesty. As if the Sovereign must not by the very instincts of nature lean for counsel, in the continuous care of her kingdom, upon her nearest and surest friend, and that friend a Privy Councillor, subject to the same rules as her Ministers, and liable to the same penalties! An active correspondence with foreign Courts was alleged to be kept up by the Prince, with the view of defeating the policy of Her Majesty's responsible advisers, and thus secrets of state, it was said, ceased to be secret, where it was most important they should not be known. No effort was spared by the class of politicians whose cue it was to injure the monarchy, or to resent upon the Prince their personal or political dislikes, to influence public opinion to his prejudice. They were so far successful, that, as was said at the time by the *Spectator*—a paper then distinguished for the breadth and independence of its views —'a whisper, which was first insinuated for party purposes, has

grown into a roar, and a constructive hint has swelled into a positive and monstrous fiction. . . . The story, not only told in all parts of England a day or two ago, but by some believed, was, that Prince Albert was a traitor to his Queen, that he had been impeached for high treason, and, finally, that on a charge of high treason he had been arrested and committed to the Tower!'

How the Prince bore up under imputations, which, though he might despise them, were especially painful to him, after all he had done to win the confidence of this country, will best be shown by his correspondence. To Baron Stockmar he wrote, on the 7th of January, 1854:—

'Dear Stockmar,—Physically we are all well, except a catarrh on my part. Morally, in this new year, as in the old, we have a world of torment.

'The attacks upon me continue with uninterrupted violence, only with this difference, that the Radical press has given them up, and the Protectionist papers now vie with each other in the unscrupulous falsehoods and vehemence with which they persevere in them. There is no kind of treason to the country of which I have not been guilty. All this must be borne tranquilly until the meeting of Parliament on the 31st, when Aberdeen and John Russell are prepared to undertake my defence.

'The Eastern question makes no progress for the better, and war in spring is becoming every day more probable.

'The Cabinet is now at one about the Reform measure, and Palmerston has accepted the *whole* Bill! Louis Napoleon and he are the idols of the public, "the favourites for the Derby!"'

Again, on the 11th of January, he writes:—

'I will write you only one word about the unceasing attacks upon me in the press here, which have really reached

an incredible height. I do this in no spirit of petty complaint over what I am quite able to bear calmly and in reliance on my good conscience, but only to keep you *au courant*.

'Parliament meets on the 31st, and till then not the least notice will be taken of all that has been said; but it will then come in all probability to an *eclaircissement*, should those who stab in the dark not be afraid of an open conflict. My health is tolerable; I am somewhat teased with rheumatic pains in the shoulder and with catarrh.

'I enclose the *Daily News*' leading article of to-day.[1] I miss you terribly at times like these, when a talk with you would do me so much good.'

It was impossible for Her Majesty not to feel deeply the injustice of attacks upon the Prince so utterly without foundation, but so mischievous in their aim. 'In attacking the Prince,' she wrote (4th January, 1854) to Lord Aberdeen, 'who is one and the same with the Queen herself, the throne is assailed; and she must say, she little expected that any portion of her subjects would thus requite the unceasing labours of the Prince.'

In replying to this letter, Lord Aberdeen said:

'It is much to be desired that some notice of the subject may be taken in Parliament, where by being treated in a proper manner it may be effectually stopped.

'It cannot be denied, that the position of the Prince is some-

[1] This article proceeded on the assumption, that all the charges against the Prince were well founded. It acknowledged his 'many estimable and amiable qualities,' but with a sagacity, which the readers of this work can appreciate for themselves, it adds: 'We never expected that, educated as he has been, connected as he is by family ties, he ever could be brought to feel and act as an English Liberal.' He is afterwards spoken of as 'a Prince who has breathed from childhood the air of Courts tainted by the imaginative servility of Goethe —who has been indoctrinated in early manhood in the stationary or retrograde political principles of the school of Niebuhr and Savigny!'

what anomalous, and has not been specially provided for by the Constitution; but the ties of nature and the dictates of common sense are more powerful than Constitutional fictions; and Lord Aberdeen can only say, that he has always considered it as an inestimable blessing, that your Majesty should possess so able, so zealous, and so disinterested an adviser. . . .

'The Prince has now been so long before the eyes of the whole country, his conduct is so invariably devoted to the public good, and his life so perfectly unattackable, that Lord Aberdeen has not the slightest apprehension of any serious consequences arising from these contemptible exhibitions of malevolence and faction.'

It was natural that the Queen should, like the Prince, long for the presence of Baron Stockmar, the friend and counsellor of her youth. The state of his health, however, made a journey to England impossible. In writing to him, on the 19th of January, Her Majesty said:

'That you should be absent when we are tried in the basest and must disgraceful manner, and when the Prince has been badgered for four weeks by the Ultras of both parties, is very unfortunate. The Prince treats it with contempt, but with his keen and very high feeling of honour, he is wounded, hurt, and outraged at the attack on his honour, and is looking very ill, though his spirits do not fail him. But coming as it does at a moment of such *intense* political anxiety, when this country is on the verge of a war and anything but prepared for it, it is overwhelming, and depresses us sadly. . . . Aberdeen is all kindness, and so are the other Ministers, and I am told that the reaction will be stronger than any attack could be,—that the country is as *loyal* as ever, only a *little mad*. . . . If brought forward in Parliament, they say (the Government does) that things could be put and explained in a manner that would elicit universal satisfaction and enthusiasm. But the uncertainty of all this is harassing.

Ill though he was, so ill, that writing was 'a torture to him,' Baron Stockmar wrote to the Prince, on the 5th of January, a letter, in which he left untouched no branch of the questions raised by the traducers of his beloved pupil.[2]

'My dear and honoured Prince,' he said, 'first let me offer you my most hearty wishes for the new year.

'. . . Thankful as I am to you for the political news you have sent me, such is their rhapsodical character, that they do not admit of my taking such a survey of the connection of cause with effect as to enable me to form a proper judgment. As to Aberdeen, I am at a loss what to think. He seems to me to be peculiarly unlucky. I can quite understand why his seamanship, which might have been fully equal to dealing with storms on an inland sea, is not sufficient for the open ocean. His friend Nicholas was his worst enemy. He had before him the task of abandoning the old traditional policy, out of which Time had sucked the marrow, and of initiating a new and vigorous one, which had in it the potentiality of development and endurance. But for this something was requisite, which he had not,—*the productive energy which can develop a great luminous thought.*' Some extenuation of Lord Aberdeen's failure, Stockmar adds, was to be found in the fact, that 'he found the Foreign policy of the country in a state of disgraceful confusion,' for which Stockmar thought Lord Palmerston was to blame.

Passing then to the personal question adverted to by the Prince, he says: 'The reproach now levelled against the Court, with all the violence of the most ignorant rudeness, of following a dynastic policy, is a most mischievous invention.' Whence it began the Baron was not left to surmise, for the assertion was made to himself by Lord Palmerston soon

[2] It may be well again to mention that the correspondence between the Prince and Baron Stockmar, and the Prince's letters to his relations quoted in this work, are in German.

after the *coup-d'état*. 'As I could judge whether the accusation was well founded or not, better than any man in England, I laughed it to scorn as devoid of all reality, and as the offspring of wounded self-esteem.' The revival of the charge, Stockmar continues, had led him to consider how it could come to have been so widely entertained. 'People,' he says, 'imagined that, intimately related as she was to the Orleans family, the Queen would resist a friendly alliance with the new head of the French Government,' and that this 'might prove a stumbling-block in the way of that sound policy towards France, which in the present juncture it was incumbent on England to pursue.' But as the Queen, he adds, 'without prejudice to the warmth of her feelings of kinship, showed a remarkable moderation and discretion in her official intercourse with the chief of the French, and allowed no personal feelings to interfere in any way with her political relations towards France, nothing, not even of the most trivial kind, occurred to realise the anxiety of those who entertained these apprehensions.' Nevertheless, they were kept up, and talked about in a certain political circle. Then came the marriage, in 1853, of King Leopold's eldest son with the second cousin of the Emperor of Austria, which was seized upon as an indication of Coburg sympathy with Absolutism. Some of the political doctrines held by King Leopold, and of which he had made no secret when recently in England, the Baron also conjectured had been construed in the same sense, and worked to the prejudice of the King's nephew, 'as the mass of people cannot know how essentially different in some respects are the political opinions of the uncle and nephew . . . . But I have gone far enough,' the Baron adds, 'with my conjectures as to causes with reference to the past. The next and most important thing is the present, the question, what is now to be done?'

The opening paragraphs of the vigorous Constitutional

essay—for it is no less,—which follows, speak volumes both for the writer and the person addressed. How little could those whose calumnies gave the occasion for Stockmar's remarks have divined the high principles which governed the lives of both? It was thus he addressed a Prince, who has been accused of aversion to those who did not treat the Queen and himself with 'acquiescence and subserviency of demeanour and conduct.'[3]

'Although you have up to this time let fall nothing, which would enable me to form any conclusion as to your thoughts and feelings in this struggle, and your demeanour under these attacks, still I cannot wish, hard as you may have been hit by them, *that you should have been spared this experience.*

'You could not marry the Queen of England without meaning, and without being bound, to become a political soldier. A mere garrison life, however, never makes a soldier, and, some household disagreeables apart, you have led hitherto nothing but a peaceful, comfortable, pampering, and enervating garrison life, in which a pedantic over-estimate of material and personal matters may no doubt flourish, but never the manly thinking, the vigorous feeling, which alone will stand the test, when brought into conflict with the actual perils of life. It is only in war, under its threatened or real wounds and bruises, that a real soldier is formed.

'But to the point. Even in England all that is generally known is the position of the Throne towards the Legislature. Its position in government proper,—in the Cabinet towards the responsible Ministers, has (especially since 1830) fallen more and more into an obscurity, which leads to misconceptions, and from them to absurd mischievous assertions, which

[3] *Lord Palmerston's Life*, ii. 349.

are incompatible with the subsistence of Constitutional Monarchy. As the rights of the Crown in England are assured, more by the traditions of ancestry and usage than by written laws, their continuance in their integrity is continually menaced, and Constitutional Monarchy has since 1830 been constantly in danger of becoming a pure Ministerial Government. In theory one of the first duties of Ministers is to protect and preserve intact the traditional usages of Royal prerogative. But, if they do not fulfil their duty,—what then? Are we to allow crack-brained sciolists in politics to deny to the Crown the right and power to keep Ministers to the fulfilment of their duty?—and not to suffer the Crown, and with it the entire commonweal, to come to destruction? And, in fact, again and again since the Reform Act we have had Ministers, who, in defending the most unquestionable Crown rights, have shown nothing but lukewarmness, timidity, and above all *that maladroitness, which comes from want of good will.*

'The old Tories, who, before the Reform Bill, were in power for fifty years, had a direct interest in upholding the prerogatives of the Crown, and they did uphold them manfully, although the Hanoverian Kings, by their immoral, politically exceptionable, dynastic or private wishes and interests, made the task anything but an easy one. As a race, these Tories have died out, and the race, which in the present day bears their name, are simply degenerate bastards. Our Whigs, again, are nothing but partly conscious, partly unconscious Republicans, who stand in the same relation to the Throne as the wolf does to the lamb. And these Whigs must have a natural inclination to push to extremity the constitutional fiction—which, although undoubtedly of old standing, is fraught with danger—that it is unconstitutional to introduce and make use of the name and person of the irresponsible Sovereign in the public debates on matters

bearing on the Constitution. But if the English Crown permit a Whig Ministry to follow this rule in practice, without exception, you must not wonder, if in a little time you find the majority of the people impressed with the belief, *that the King, in the view of the law, is nothing but a mandarin figure, which has to nod its head in assent, or shake it in denial, as his Minister pleases.*

'Now, in our time, since Reform, the extinction of the genuine Tories, and the growth of those politicians of the Aberdeen school, who treat the existing Constitution merely as a bridge to a Republic, it is of extreme importance, that this fiction should be *countenanced only provisionally, and that no opportunity should be let slip of vindicating the legitimate position of the Crown.* And this is not hard to do, *and can never embarrass a Minister, where such straightforward loyal personages as the Queen and the Prince are concerned.* For the most jealous and distrustful Liberalism, in any discussion about the definite interpretation of the law of Royal prerogative, must be satisfied, if *this be placed no higher than a right on the part of the King to be the permanent President of his Ministerial Council.* Now the most stupid of Englishmen knows, that, up to the present hour at least, his country is always governed by only one party, and that consequently the Premier of the Cabinet for the time is and can be nothing else but *the Chief of the Party then in power.* Out of the very character of this Party Chief it ought to be demonstrable to the narrowest capacity, that every Premier, even were he a patriot of the most far-seeing views, and absolutely exempt from prejudice, must suffer from two drawbacks inherent in his office, which demand a constitutional corrective, and for which none can be sought or found, except in the true position of the Crown towards the Cabinet, and in the way it deals with it in the exercise of its prerogative. The first of these drawbacks consists in the

temptation, to which the Premier is directly exposed by the obvious insecurity and brief duration of his tenure of office, to give to the personal, selfish, and transitory tendencies of the dominant majority precedence over the substantial interests of the country. The second arises from the instinctive struggle of party (without reference to whether, so far as the State is concerned, they are in the right or not), to strengthen their majority, and to weaken the minority by every possible official resource.

'The political sciolist will make light of these drawbacks, which nevertheless have often produced the most serious maladies in the State, and pretend to cure them by the fiction of Ministerial responsibility. But the twaddle about Ministers being responsible to the nation for every fault of head or heart will not keep matters straight. Where the question is how to keep the State in health, our object should be, not to cure a complaint by severe remedies after it has broken out, but to protect it against disease.

'Ministerial responsibility in these days, for such Ministers as are incapable, and at any rate for such as are unscrupulous, is a mere bugbear. The responsible Minister may do the most stupid and mischievous things. If they are not found out, he may even continue to be popular; if they do come to light, it only costs him his place. He resigns or is removed,—that is all,—the whole punishment, the whole restitution made for the mischief done to the commonweal.

'But who could have averted, whose duty was it to avert, the danger either wholly or in part? Assuredly he, and he alone, who, being free from party passion, has listened to the voice of an independent judgment. To exercise this judgment is, both in a moral and constitutional point of view, a matter of right, nay, a positive duty. The Sovereign may even take a part in the initiation and the maturing of the Government measures; for it would be unreasonable to

expect, that a King, himself as able, as accomplished, as patriotic as the best of his Ministers, should be prevented from making use of these qualities at the deliberations of his Council. In practice, of course, the use so made will be as various as the gifts and personal character of the occupants of the throne are various; and these are decided not merely by the different degrees of capability, but also by their varieties of temperament and disposition. Although this right has, since the time of William III., been frequently perverted and exercised in the most pernicious way, since 1830, on the other hand, it has scarcely been exercised at all, which is fundamentally less injurious to the State than in the other case. At the same time it is obvious, that its judicious exercise, which certainly requires a master mind, would not only be the best guarantee for Constitutional Monarchy, but would raise it to a height of power, stability, and symmetry, which has never been attained. At the same time, in the face of the exercise of this merely moral right of the Crown, the responsible Ministers may, so far as the substantial import, the excellence, and fitness of their measures are concerned, act with entire freedom and independence.

'The relation between Sovereign and Ministers becomes quite different, whenever the former has to decide as to the carrying out of a measure which he has already sanctioned; for then he is primarily charged with a constitutional control of the honesty and loyalty of his Ministers, which is exercised most safely for the rest of them through the Premier.

'Thus, then, do I vindicate for the Sovereign the position of a permanent Premier, who takes rank above the temporary head of the Cabinet, and in matters of discipline exercises supreme authority; and in this way I bring into harmony with the Constitution a well-known saying of

Palmerston's in his reply to Lord John in the debate on his dismissal, "I concede to the Minister not only the power to dismiss every member of the Cabinet, but also the right to dismiss them without any explanation of his reasons."

'How valuable, in and for itself, is the moral purity of the Sovereign, as an example to the people, as moral oil for the driving-wheels of the Constitutional machine, as a controlling principle for the highest Government and Court officials, I have had it in my power to observe for sixteen years, and to compare with what had fallen under my notice under George IV. and William IV. during the twenty-two preceding years. Let men like the late Lord Melbourne exclaim as they please, "That damned morality is sure to ruin everything," I, on the other hand, can testify before God, that the English machine works smoothly and well only when the Sovereign is upright and truthful, and that when he has been insincere, mendacious, and wicked, it has creaked and fouled, and jolted to within an ace of coming to a dead-lock.

'My friends and enemies in England are well aware that falsehood, flattery, and timidity are no parts of my character. I love and honour the English Constitution from conviction, for I think that, under judicious handling, it is capable of realising a degree of legal, civil liberty, which leaves a man scope to think and act as a man. Out of its bosom singly and solely has sprung America's free Constitution in all its present power and importance, in its incalculable influence upon the social condition of the whole human race; and in my eyes the English Constitution is the foundation, corner-, and cope-stone of all the political civilisation of the human race, present and to come. Such being my views, in the same degree that I am averse to contribute in any way to the misrepresentation, the falsification, the enfeebling of this Constitution, must I desire to

see its stability secured, and its organic improvement developed.

'Among the many phenomena which are produced by the inward life and working of the mechanism of this machine, there is one, the close study and appreciation of which is of vital moment for the maintenance and development of the whole. This phenomenon has its origin in what Englishmen call "the self-adjusting principle of the Constitution." The greater movement and activity in English public life, which is fostered by the Constitution, lead to alterations being brought forward from time to time in the reciprocal relations as to power and influence of the Three Estates which form the fundamental elements of the Constitution. The greater these changes are in themselves, the more do they place the commonweal in circumstances analogous to the crises of disease. In these constitutional crises this self-adjusting principle is what the *vis medicatrix naturæ* is in disease. As the operation of the latter is more certain and quicker, when it is guided, fostered, and backed up by the physician, so too is that of the former, when the Ministers form a sound judgment as to the nature of the crisis, and treat and back it up with judgment. Let us illustrate these critical changes in the relative organic forces of the Three Estates by their most recent examples.

'Prior to 1831, the centre of gravity of the combined forces of the State in their relation to each other had lain in the Upper House, where the Tories for sixty years had commanded the majority. Although the Oppositions of those days sometimes spoke "of an overgrown power in the Crown," nothing more was seriously meant by this than the identity of principle and interest which was assumed to exist between the Crown and the majority of the Upper House. This notion the dominant majority could afford to encourage, and in its own interest to protect a Crown, which

was making itself every day more unpopular and weak by its folly and immorality.

'The Reform Act, while it gave to the democratic element a preponderance in the Constitution over the aristocratic, removed its centre of gravity from the Upper to the Lower House, and thereby threw all political life into a state of feverish excitement and oscillation, which was very apt to have proved fatal to it. In this conjuncture the healing force of the self-adjusting principle was demonstrated, all the more that Peel proved himself an honest and skilful physician. By successfully allaying the dangerous excitement of the one organ, which had now gained the preponderance, it was for the first time brought into harmonious action with the others, and the dangers were averted, which most imminently threatened the entire fabric.

'A happy change, which placed a moral Sovereign upon the throne, came powerfully and palpably in aid of the self-adjusting principle and of Peel's endeavours. Whether the Minister, whether the Upper House was ever consciously aware, what a safeguard for them against the wild power of democracy had grown up in the moral purity of the Queen, I do not know. The Ministry, however, could hardly fail to know, even although they did not openly acknowledge, how greatly the popularity of the throne operated to the advantage and security of their administration; and just as little could the Lords fail to be struck by the reflection, that, instead of the time when they had to support an unpopular Sovereign, another time had come, in which a popular Sovereign was able to support them, and disposed to do so, on the assumption, that the part which they were entitled to take in legislation would be performed with intelligence, with sympathetic feeling suited to the spirit of the age (*zeitmässiger Humanität*), with industry and with courage. In whatever other way either Minister or Lords

may construe the action of the Three Estates one upon another under the altered relations consequent upon the Reform Act, to the unprejudiced and mature statesman it will be clear—

'That, as matters now stand, the necessary equilibrium of the Constitution can only be established and maintained by throwing a well-merited and deeply seated popularity on the part of the Sovereign into the scale against the weight and pressure of that democratic element, which has become so powerful in the House of Commons. If the idea, that Constitutional Monarchy in Europe has great advantages over a Democratic Republic, is to be kept alive in the people, then Ministers must not shrink from fulfilling their duties towards the Crown; although in our times this will demand more manliness, honesty, and courage than go to being popular with the House of Commons, which is easier, no doubt, and safer, but is also at the same time the surest way to lead on Monarchy imperceptibly, and this too under the Minister's own guidance, into a Republic.

'I had no time to be brief. The meaning of this long discourse is this:

'The feverish crisis into which the life of the Constitution has been thrown by Reform, in consequence of the very material alterations of the reciprocal relations between the individual forces of the State which had previously existed, is not yet past; although the self-adjusting principle and Peel's statesmanship have averted serious danger, and brought about a healthier state of things. . . . Still, much remains to be done. The task which is especially incumbent on the Minister, and is his foremost duty, is, manfully to defend the present well-deserved popularity of the Sovereign, while yours is, to lend all the aid in your power towards the assumption by the Lords of their right position in the Legislature, and the fulfilment of their vocation as sagacious, liberally-minded, and honourable men.

'I come now to the special case in hand, my opinion on which is embodied in the pages that follow.

'At this distance I am unable to appreciate the situation with perfect certainty. The attack, which, seen from here, seems to be one that must be met, may, when viewed close at hand, be so insignificant that any defence would be out of place. But *on this point* I have no doubt whatever, that if a defence be, *as I certainly think it is*, necessary, it can only be properly made in *one* way. It cannot be done by extenuating, excusing, explaining. It must be done by first bringing clearly under review the whole situation *exactly as it is*, and then showing, *that the Prince, in what he does, does no more than what it is both his right and duty to do.*

'It will not be difficult to show what this right and this duty are.

'Kings George III. and IV., and William IV., had private secretaries. The choice of these private secretaries depended wholly and solely upon the King's pleasure. They took no oath, and their mere nomination by the King sufficed to qualify them for their post. The position and functions of these men were assailed by politicians of all shades as unconstitutional. Still, the private secretaries remained; and the fact of their continuance proves that they were practically indispensable. When Queen Victoria ascended the throne, the question was discussed within the circle of her immediate friends, whether she would be able to get on without a private secretary. Her youth, her sex, her ignorance of affairs, spoke strongly in favour of the appointment of a private secretary. She wished to nominate me for the office. This I declined for personal reasons, and for political reasons, I was wholly *averse* to such an appointment being made. These reasons were, that, although it might be constitutional for the Queen to have a private secretary, yet

his office might very easily be exercised in an unconstitutional way; that the choice of the person would be difficult, and its result uncertain; and that, if a mistake were made, nothing could ensue but misunderstandings between the Queen and her Ministers, and intrigues by the individual who occupied a position midway between both. Such being my view, it seemed to me prudent at all events to make the experiment, whether or not the Queen could get on for a time without a private secretary.

'If she married, and became a mother, then no doubt the necessity for a private secretary would take a more definite shape, but then the husband of the Queen would in the nature of things be her private secretary. And with a view to this event, the appointment of a private secretary was, if possible, to be avoided, so that after marriage there should be no third person to come between the spouses and their unrestricted mutual confidence.

'In a communication with Lord Palmerston shortly before the Queen came to the throne, in which I informed him, that the intention of the Princess was to continue the existing Ministry, he said, "We shall be a weak Ministry. The Princess comes from the nursery to the throne; the nation is therefore aware, that in the face of her Cabinet she cannot adequately uphold the Royal authority, and that is a kind of thing the nation does not like." As in this view of matters there was a reason for appointing a private secretary, I consulted Lord Grey, both upon that subject, and upon the offer which had been made to myself. His reply was—"As concerns yourself, your reasons for declining are good; but the right of a Queen to appoint a foreigner as her private secretary is just as good. She may appoint whom she pleases,—a Moor, if she likes. The best thing that could be for the Princess would be to marry soon, and to marry a Prince of ability. *He, as her bosom friend,*

would then be her most natural and safest private secretary. Assuming that the Queen will marry soon, we must try to manage in the meanwhile without a private secretary."

'This opinion was adopted, and Lord Melbourne tried, up to the time of the Queen's marriage, to act as her Prime Minister and private secretary, despite the contradictory nature of the two offices. But immediately after the Queen's marriage, under Lord Melbourne's administration, the Prince's present position was arranged,—thus giving a contradiction to the untrue assertion in the M.P.'s letter, that Lord Melbourne had refused to sanction it.[4] The details on this point, the Prince will know better than I can remember them.

'Now, as to the accusations which have been raised in the press against the Prince, they amount, *after separating calumny from truth*, to no more than this,—"that the Prince has acted and now acts as the Queen's private secretary." The Ministers have therefore to point out, that all that is true in the accusation is, that the Prince acts as the Queen's private secretary, and that all else is simply calumnious. Then the right of the Queen to appoint as her private secretary whomsoever she chooses will have to be explained and vindicated; and finally it has to be shown, that the Queen could select no better private secretary, or one who by his position offers more moral guarantees, than her husband, the father of the heir to the throne, and the Regent appointed by law in the event of a minority.

'If, however, over and above the moral guarantees, constitutional guarantees be demanded from *this* private secretary, then these two are secured by the fact, that the Prince has taken the oaths as a Privy Councillor. For if this

[4] This relates to a letter signed M.P., which was among the first to attack the Prince's position on constitutional grounds.

circumstance suffice, in the judgment of the most competent jurists, to give Lord John Russell the character of responsible adviser of the Crown, and to justify the leadership of the Lower House,[5] then it must also extend to qualify the Prince for the post of private secretary.

'Finally, if the Ministers have a mind also to expose the wickedness and folly of the charges, they can easily do so, by pointing to the fact, *that Nature existed before the Constitution.* They will on this head ask people to consider, whether a Princess, who makes light of the duties of wife and mother can be a good Queen; and whether, therefore, it is just and equitable to expect of the Queen, that she should depose her husband from the position he is entitled to as such, and place him in one, *which must be fatal to the intimate confidentiality of the married state.*

'Perhaps it may be added, that from none would such a demand have less been looked for, than from the English. For if the confidentiality of husband and wife is carried so far among them—as I had occasion to learn, when the last Ministry was formed, and told Lord Aberdeen at the time,—that the deliberations of the husband with the wife on important affairs of state modify the expressed opinions of the *husband*, surely it is not by these same Englishmen, that the wife will be reproached for invoking the advice and assistance of her husband in the conduct of her affairs.

'Coburg, 22nd January, 1854.'

To this remarkable letter, in which the deepest student of our political history will find much to learn and profit by, the Prince replied:

'Dear Stockmar,—It has been a great pleasure to me to receive your wise words at a time, when we might fancy we

[5] Lord John Russell was at this time leader of the House of Commons, but held no office.

were living in a madhouse. I heartily agree with every word you say. The state of affairs is precisely what you indicate. Only here and there I am able to fill up details, which could hardly fail to escape you at a distance. . . .

'One main element is the hostility and settled bitterness of the old High Tory or Protectionist party against me on account of my friendship with the late Sir Robert Peel, and of my success with the Exhibition. This has shown itself in the clearest and strongest way. The stupidity of the Lord Mayor in wishing to erect a monument to me brought matters to a climax. Their fury knew no bounds, when by Palmerston's return to the Ministry that party (which is now at variance with Disraeli) lost the chance of securing a leader in the Lower House, who would have overthrown the Ministry with the cry for English honour and independence, and against Parliamentary Reform, which is by no means popular. Hatred of the Peelites is stronger in the old party than ever, and Aberdeen is regarded as his representative. To discredit him would have this further advantage, that, if he could be upset, the keystone of the arch of coalition would be smashed, and it must fall to pieces; then Palmerston and John Russell would have to separate, and the former would take the place he has long coveted of leader to the Conservatives and Radicals. For the same reason, however, it must be our interest to support Aberdeen, in order to keep the structure standing. Fresh reason for the animosity towards us. So the old game was renewed, which was played against Melbourne after the Queen's accession, of attacking the Court, so as to make it clear, both to it and to the public, that a continuance of Aberdeen in office must endanger the popularity of the Crown.

'Another principal element is the army (the Senior United Service Club, with all its grumblers). Lord Raglan

(Fitzroy Somerset) has never forgiven his not having been made Commander-in-Chief; and his thirty years' military secretaryship, resting upon and backed up by the strength of the old Duke's position, has created for him a large following, who are personally hostile to Lord Hardinge, and regard me as the cause of Lord Hardinge's promotion. The confidential intercourse of Lord Hardinge with myself in all military matters, and the greater attention and insight into these which had become necessary on my part since the Duke's death, have confirmed the belief that Lord H. is only the Prince's tool. The resignation of General Browne (the Adjutant-General), after an unseemly wrangle between himself and Lord H. about a question of discipline (relating to the weight of knapsacks), was made the signal for the outbreak. Palmerston and Browne, the only *independent* Englishmen, were driven out by Coburg influence! . . . . The Radicals are *ex officio* ever on the watch to loosen the hold of the Crown upon the army, and to play into the hands of the House of Commons; so here was an admirable *trouvaille* for them. Military despotism and Russian sympathies were so thoroughly congenial, jobs and secret Court influence were such a popular theme, that a section of the press could wish for nothing better. But it was also welcome in the Protectionist shop, for there the Somersets were at home, and Hardinge was Peel's bosom friend.

'Now, however, I come to that important substratum of the people, on which these calumnies were certain to have a great effect. A very considerable section of the nation had never given itself the trouble to consider what really is the position of the husband of a Queen Regnant. When I first came over here, I was met by this want of knowledge and unwillingness to give a thought to the position of this luckless personage. Peel cut down my income, Wellington refused me my rank, the Royal Family cried out against the

Foreign interloper, the Whigs in office were only inclined to concede to me just as much space as I could stand upon. The Constitution is silent as to the Consort of the Queen;—even Blackstone ignores him, and yet there he was, and not to be done without. As I have kept quiet and caused no scandal, and all went well, no one has troubled himself about me and my doings; and any one who wished to pay me a compliment at a public dinner or meeting, extolled my "wise abstinence from interfering in political matters." Now when the present journalistic controversies have brought to light the fact, that I have for years taken an active interest in all political matters, the public, instead of feeling surprise at my reserve, and the tact with which I have avoided thrusting myself forward, fancied itself betrayed, because it felt it had been self-deceived. It has also rushed all at once into a belief in secret correspondence with foreign Courts, intrigues, &c.; for all this is much more probable, than that thirty millions of men in the course of fourteen years should not have discovered, that an important personage had during all that time taken a part in their government. If *that* could be concealed, then all kinds of secret conspiracy are possible, and the Coburg conspiracy is proved to demonstration.

'Beyond this stage of knowledge, which was certain sooner or later to be reached, we shall, however, soon have passed; and even now there is a swarm of letters, articles, and pamphlets, to prove, that the husband of the Queen, as such, and as Privy Councillor, not only may, but, in the general interest, must be, an active and responsible adviser of the Crown; and I hope the debate in Parliament will confirm this view, and settle it at once and for ever.

'The recognition of this fact will be of importance, and is alone worth all the hubbub and abuse. I think I may venture to assume, that the nation is ashamed of its past thought-

lessness, and has already arrived at a just understanding of my position; but it needed some hard hitting to open their eyes. Lord Brougham has published anonymously a very good pamphlet on the subject, which I send you.

'As for the calumnies themselves, I look upon them as a fiery ordeal that will serve to purge away impurities. All the gossip and idle talk of the last fourteen years have been swept away by what has occurred. Every one who has been able to say or surmise any ill of me has conscientiously contributed his faggot to the burning of the heretic, and I may say with pride, that not the veriest tittle of a reproach can be brought against me *with truth*. I have myself sometimes felt uneasy, under attacks prompted by fiendish wickedness, that I might here or there have unconsciously made mistakes. But nothing has been brought against me, which is not absolutely *untrue*. This may have been mere good luck, for I can scarcely suppose that I have not in some things laid myself open to censure. At any rate, as nothing could be adduced against me with even a show of probability, the old Palmerstonian pamphlet was brought upon the tapis, and it was insinuated, that the proofs of my misdeeds and copies of my secret correspondence had been handed over by Lord Palmerston to an honourable Baronet in 1837, who embodied them in a pamphlet, which I bought up and suppressed, and forthwith concluded a peace with Lord Palmerston, in order to screen myself!—that six copies were nevertheless still extant, and I had better mind what I was about!

'This has compelled Lord Palmerston to announce in yesterday's *Morning Post*, that he did not get the pamphlet written, that he never gave up documents which demonstrated my guilt, for this simple reason, that he never gave up any documents at all, and that *he* had entreated the pamphlet might not appear. Well, it is printed to-day in

The Times in extenso, and is a miserable performance, which can really hurt no one but Lord Palmerston himself, as it accuses the Court and Lord John of having intrigued to subject Lord Palmerston *falsely* to the stigma of having cried up the *coup-d'état*, with the conviction, that a false belief on this head was calculated to do him serious injury! As, however, it has since been proved in Parliament that this was simple truth and no intrigue, the charge only recoils upon Lord Palmerston himself. Perhaps this circumstance may open the eyes of a good many people. . . .

'One word more about the credulity of the public. You will scarcely credit, that my being committed to the Tower was believed all over the country—nay, even "that the Queen had been arrested!" People surrounded the Tower in thousands to see us brought to it! On the other hand, I hear from Manchester, where Bright, Cobden, Gibson, Wilson, &c. held their annual meeting, that "they made very light of it, and laughed at all the accusations." It has been a great worry to me, for the affair was *too serious* not to merit the gravest and closest consideration. It was anything but pleasant to me amidst it all, that so many people could look upon me "as a rogue and traitor," and I shall not be at ease, until I see the debate in Parliament well over; for it is not enough, that these rumours should be dispelled for the time; they must be knocked on the head, and the disease radically cured. Then what has occurred may be of the greatest service for the future.

'Victoria has taken the whole affair greatly to heart, and was excessively indignant at the attacks. Finally, if our courage and cheerfulness have not suffered, our stomachs and digestions have, as they commonly do, where the feelings are kept long upon the stretch. Since yesterday I have been quite miserable; to-day I have had to keep to the house, and this is why you get this long letter.

'In the Eastern question the ball continues to roll downhill. "Things bad begun make strong themselves by ill," says Shakspeare, and the Emperor Nicholas is a case in point. We shall not be able to avoid war, and in this pass we find our neighbour and only ally in anything but a warlike mood. If he keeps of the same mind, the desire for war, which with us here has gone up to fever heat, will cool, but then it will be too late. The worst thing about it is, that it cannot be carried on to any effective end. Russia is a vast and ponderous mass, upon which blows on the few spots where they can be planted will make no deep impression. If Prussia and Austria go with us, then the case is altered, and war becomes practically impossible for Russia.

'Windsor Castle, 24th January, 1854.'

Parliament met on the 31st of January, and Lord John Russell and Lord Aberdeen took the earliest opportunity of disposing of the calumnies against the Prince, with which the public mind had been preoccupied for many weeks. Wherever these had assumed a definite form they were at once dissipated by a simple statement of the facts. Where they were confined to insinuations, the testimony of these eminent statesmen to the Prince's unimpeachable loyalty to the Crown and to the country was sufficient to put them to silence at once and for ever. Lord Derby, in the Upper House, and Mr. Walpole, in the Lower, spoke strongly to the same effect; and the Constitutional question of the Prince's right to support the Sovereign by his advice in all matters of State was completely vindicated, not only by the speakers we have named, but also by the high legal authority of Lord Campbell. If Mr. Disraeli was silent on the occasion, doubtless it was because he felt that to say more than had been said by Lord John Russell and Mr. Walpole would have been superfluous, for in a letter written to a friend a few days

before he had said: 'The opportunity which office has afforded me of becoming acquainted with the Prince filled me with a sentiment towards him which I may describe without exaggeration as one of affection.'

Next day the Queen wrote to Baron Stockmar:—

'Windsor Castle, 1st February, 1854.

'I write to you in the fulness of joy at the triumphant refutation of all the calumnies in the two Houses of Parliament last night. The position of my beloved lord and master has been defined for *once and all* and his merits have been acknowledged on all sides most duly. There was an immense concourse of people assembled when we went to the House of Lords, and the people were very friendly.

'I send you a newspaper, which I think will please you. Lord John did it admirably, and so did dear excellent Lord Aberdeen, who has taken it *terribly to heart.*

'Many thanks for your kind words of the 22nd. They gave me much pleasure.

'We are both well, and I am sure will now recover our necessary strength and equanimity to meet the great difficulties and trials which are before us.'

The same post carried the following letter from the Prince to his suffering friend at Coburg:—

'Victoria has sent you, I know, the paper with the Debates on my impeachment. You will, I trust, be satisfied with the tone of them, and you will find your own views, as developed in your letter, completely reproduced in the Constitutional explanation given both by Aberdeen and Lord John. The impression has been excellent, and my political status and activity, which up to this time have been silently assumed, have now been asserted in Parliament, and vindicated without a dissentient voice. Lord Campbell's judg-

ment as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas is at this moment of great importance. I send you herewith an article from the *Daily News*, which is anything but satisfied, and seems quite to feel the accession of strength to the Crown which has resulted from the discussion. From this time forth I shall, of course, continue to be for them "an object of fear and distrust." The *Herald*, as the Tory organ, is distressed at Ministers having brought before Parliament circumstances, which from the sacredness of private life, and from the fact of the individual being by the Constitution removed *beyond* discussion, "ought not to have been mentioned." Not bad this, when for six consecutive weeks this journal had slandered and outraged this individual and his private life without intermission.

'Windsor Castle, 2nd February, 1854.'

When a few days afterwards (10th February) the anniversary of the Royal marriage came round, the clouds that had overshadowed the happiness of the Queen and Prince had all been dispelled; and to the same wise and loving friend Her Majesty wrote:

'This blessed day is full of joyful and tender emotions. Fourteen happy and blessed years have passed, and I confidently trust many more will, and find us in old age, as we are now, happily and devotedly united! Trials we must have; but what are they, if we are together?'

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Memorandum by the Prince Consort *as to the Disposal of the Surplus from the Great Exhibition of* 1851.

It is estimated that, after defraying the expenses of the Exhibition, the Royal Commission will be left with a surplus of from 150,000*l.* to 200,000*l.*

The question arises: What is to be done with this surplus?

Schemes abound for its application, and a great movement is being made to get it expended upon the purchase and maintenance of the Crystal Palace as a Winter Garden.

It becomes necessary for the Royal Commission to mature some plan for itself on a careful and conscientious consideration of its position, powers and duties, in order not to find itself at the end of its important labours driven into execution of ill-digested projects by the force of accident or popular agitation.

In order to arrive at a sound opinion on what is to be done, we must ask ourselves: What are the objects the Exhibition had in view, how far these objects have been realised, and how far they can be further promoted?

I take the objects to have been: the promotion of every branch of human industry by means of the comparison of their processes and results as carried on and obtained by all the nations of the earth, and the promotion of kindly feelings of the nations towards each other by the practical illustration of the advantages which may be derived by each from the labours and achievements of the others.

Only in a close adherence to this governing idea, and in a consistent carrying out of what has been hitherto done, can we find a safe guide for future plans.

But even if this were not the case, it will be found that by former announcements to the public, we have distinctly pledged ourselves to expend any surplus which may accrue towards the establishment of future Exhibitions or objects strictly in connection with the present Exhibition.

The purchase of the Crystal Palace for the purpose of establishing a Winter Garden, or a Museum of Antiquities, or a public promenade, ride, lounging place, &c. &c., has, in my opinion, no connection whatever with the objects of the Exhibition. Our connection with the building has been an incidental one, namely, as a covering to our collection, and ceases with the dispersion of that collection; and, therefore, even if we were not bound by legal contracts to remove the building on a specified day, and the dictates of good faith did not induce us strictly to fulfil our moral engagements towards the public, even although released from our legal engagements, I consider that we have not the power to divert any part of the surplus towards providing the London, or even the British, public with a place of recreation.

But, should the public wish to maintain the building, we ought not to stand in the way of the Government keeping it up to the 1st of May, should they feel it their duty to take such a course.

If I am asked, what I would do with the surplus, I would propose the following scheme:—

I am assured, that from twenty-five to thirty acres of ground nearly opposite the Crystal Palace, on the other side of the Kensington Road, called Kensington Gore (including Soyer's Symposium), are to be purchased at this moment for about 50,000*l*. I would buy that ground, and place on it four Institutions, corresponding to the four great sections of the Exhibition—Raw Materials, Machinery, Manufactures, and Plastic Art.

I would devote these Institutions to the furtherance of the industrial pursuits of all nations in these four divisions.

If I examine what are the means by which improvement and progress can be obtained in any branch of human knowledge, I find them to consist of four: (1.) Personal study from books. (2.) Oral communication of knowledge by those who possess it to those who wish to acquire it. (3.) Acquisition of knowledge

by ocular observation, comparison, and demonstration. (4.) Exchange of ideas by personal discussion.

Hence I would provide each of these Institutions with the means of forming (1) a library and rooms for study; (2) lecture rooms; (3) an acre of glass covering for the purposes of exhibition; and (4) rooms for conversazioni, discussions, and commercial meetings. The surplus space might be laid out as gardens for public enjoyment, and so as to admit of the future erection of public monuments there, according to a well-arranged plan. The centre might be applicable for a public conservatory, if wished for.

The Institution for the Raw Material would be most usefully subdivided into Metallurgy, Metallurgical Chemistry, and Animal and Vegetable Physiology (Agricultural Chemistry? Microscopy).

That of Machinery would embrace the whole branch of Polytechnic Science with its subdivisions.

That of Manufactures would comprise a School of Design and Chemistry, as applied to Manufactures.

The fourth (the Plastic Art), Architecture, Antiquities, Sculpture.

Now I find, that for all these separate pursuits, we have a variety of public Societies in England struggling for existence, unconnected with each other, unprovided with any suitable locations; the Geological Society, Botanical Society, Linnæan Society, Zoological Society, Microscopical Society, Agricultural Society, &c. &c., Polytechnic Society, Society of Civil Engineers, the Society of Arts, Manufacture, and Commerce (from which the Exhibition has sprung, and which, after having produced its flower, will have exhausted its vital power, and cannot return to what it was before), the Society of Architects, of Antiquaries, Archæological, &c.

Could not these Societies, or most of them, containing as they do all that this country possesses of talent and experience in these branches, be united in these Institutions, reserving to each its individuality, and its self-supporting and self-managing character, but bringing them under a general system, and so far asking them to reform their Charters as to make them more popular Institutions—I mean thereby Institutions placed in a relation of reciprocal influence with public opinion?

If these Societies were to sell their present habitations and property, and thereby were freed from the heaviest part of their expenses, they would be enabled materially to assist the first establishment of their new existence.

In order to secure a certain uniformity of system amongst them, they might, in all matters of interest common to them, be governed by a Central Committee of their Chairmen. To this central body might be added the Statistical Society, in order to obtain for the civilised world an accurate collection of the materials, from which alone those general laws can be abstracted, guided by which we can hope safely to advance in all branches of civilisation.

These Institutions must be open and common to all nations, and would soon spread their ramifications into all countries. As the surplus with which they are to be founded has been obtained from the public, attracted and gratified by the sight of the works which the Exhibitors have at great expense, trouble, and risk to themselves sent to the Crystal Palace, it would be but a proper return, and, I am afraid, the only one we could offer, to receive them as the first Life Members of the Institution.

By a scheme like this we should ensure that the Great Exhibition of 1851 should not become a transitory event of mere temporary interest, but that its objects would be perpetuated, that the different industrial pursuits of mankind, arts, and science, should not again relapse into a state of comparative isolation from each other, in which their progress is necessarily retarded, and that the different nations would remain in that immediate relation of mutual assistance, by which these pursuits are incalculably advanced, and their goodwill towards each other permanently fortified.

I may mention as a circumstance which may give additional importance to the consideration of such a scheme, that the locality I have mentioned is one which has been recommended also as an eligible site for a new National Gallery, and that the purchase of the whole, and the re-sale to the Government of as much as might be required for this purpose, might cause a considerable saving to the Exchequer, and, instead of absorbing it, might furnish additional open space to the metropolis, whilst it could assist the study of art in connection with manufacture.

I am perfectly aware that this is but a very crude scheme,

requiring mature consideration and practical tests in its details; but I thought it my duty towards the Commission to lay it before them at as early a moment as possible, in order that the remaining weeks of the Exhibition might be employed in investigating it, or that we might be led by that investigation to the discovery of a more feasible plan.

Osborne, 10th August, 1851.

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LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
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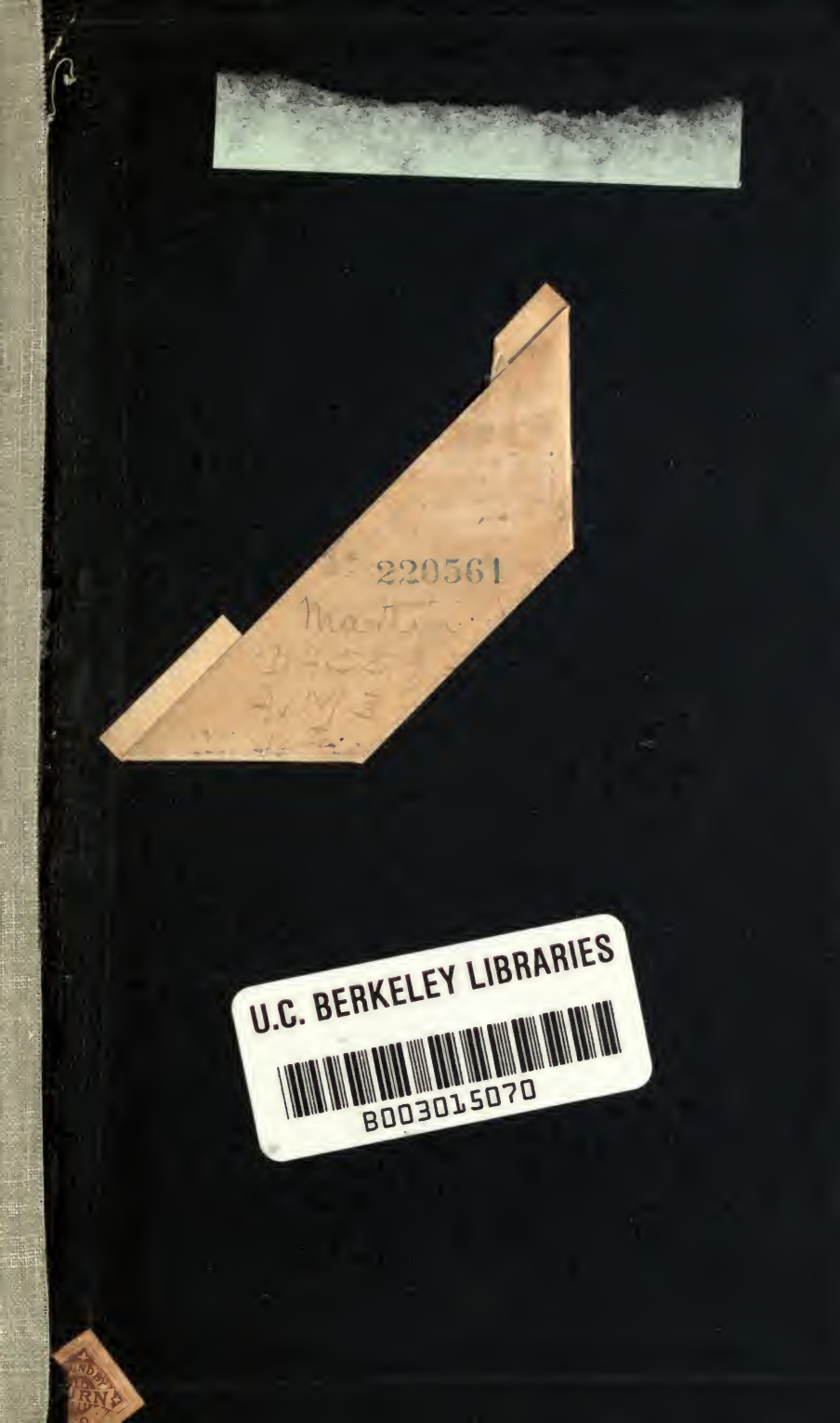
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